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The University of Texas
Institute of Latin-American Studies

Latin-American Studies, IV

The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru

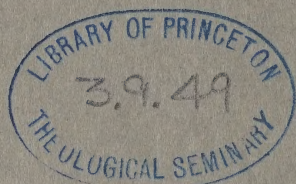
BY

CHARLES GIBSON

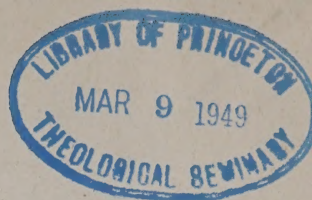
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Foreword

The Institute of Latin-American Studies of The University of Texas continues with this publication, under the general title of *Latin-American Studies*, a series of monographs and volumes in the Latin-American field, including proceedings of conferences sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies.

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IV—*The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru* by Charles Gibson

Preface

The Quechua Indians of present-day Peru possess a culture that is the product of long historical adaptation. Essential elements of the modern Quechua social organization are believed to extend to a remote American antiquity. The *ayllu*, for example, a kin group or community, is both pre-Spanish and pre-Inca. Presumably *ayllus* existed first in their own right, as social units. Later they were subjected, perhaps, to local domination in the pre-Inca cultures of the coast and the highland Andes. Still later they came under the sway of the Inca hierarchy. In the sixteenth century they were part of the Spanish colonial empire; and after nearly three centuries of colonial existence, they passed to republican control. In one sense, therefore, Peruvian social history may be visualized as a continuous base, over which successive administrations have fashioned appropriate instruments of control. Plotted at one level, the society remains constant; plotted at another, it reveals the successions and transitions that make its history.

The subject that has been selected for study in the following paper may be interpreted as a segment taken from such a chart. Specifically, the subject treated is the transition from Inca to Spanish sovereignty in colonial Peru. The concern throughout has been with major adjustments at the upper dominant level, rather than with cultural adaptations of subordinate peoples.

Three chapters of the paper are devoted to the subject of pre-conquest sovereignty in the Inca empire. This is analyzed in terms of dynastic succession (Chapter II), centralization (Chapter III), and class rule (Chapter IV). Because the first of these topics received most attention from the Spaniards during the conquest and in the immediate post-conquest period, two chapters are devoted to the subject of dynastic succession in the colonial period (Chapters V and VI). The final section treats of two antithetical tendencies in colonial culture: the destruction of Inca methods of sovereignty (Chapter VII) and the movement for restoration, whether in whole or in part, of Inca social forms (Chapter VIII). The general problem of Peruvian sovereignty is briefly sketched in Chapter I.

The paper was presented to the faculty of The University of Texas for the degree of Master of Arts in June, 1947. For advice during the year 1946-1947, the writer is indebted to the members of his advisory committee at The University of Texas: Carlos E. Castañeda, Charles W. Hackett, George C. Engerrand, and Pablo Max Ynsfran. He is further indebted to Willis W. Pratt and

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CHAPTER I

Sovereignty in Peru

It has been traditional in Peruvian studies to describe the Inca¹ government as a hierarchy of castes deriving jurisdiction from the ruling, or Sopa, Inca at the head of the state. Older historians consistently emphasized the element of stratification in the Inca political authority,² and, despite occasional instances of skepticism, modern students have been unable to introduce valid or far-reaching modifications.³ In the classic statement, this society consisted of dependent decimal groups, each with its leader. The Sopa Inca, at the apex of the hierarchy, appears to have exercised sovereign power to a degree that has no parallel in native American history. He is pictured as an independent and almost absolute ruler, rarely in consultation with his subordinates. In successive administrative levels, the Inca nobles executed the Sopa Inca's command. Lower officers governed beneath higher in a systematic assignment of authority. New local leaders were appropriately assimilated. The scale of leadership descended to the *chunca camayoc*, or decurion, the officer of lowest rank. The mass in the Inca state remained always subordinate, forming a broad substratum.

The external forms of government in the Inca state, therefore, are portrayed with clarity and precision by historians. Nevertheless, like many other aspects of Incaic society, they reveal an ambivalent or contradictory character. The internal relationships and modulations of the hierarchy are vague. There is none of the legalistic delineation of powers demanded by constitutional historians. The Inca government is not easily adapted to the categories of European political history. The literature of interpretation has been unable to classify the Inca state either as

¹The term "Inca" is here applied to the imperial ruling class. The term "Incaic" is used in reference to the empire in a broader sense. "Incaic" society includes both ruling and subject peoples. This terminology, while not in current use, is historically justified and is well suited to the requirements of the present study.

²William H. Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," in William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York: Modern Library, n.d.); William Robertson, *The History of America* (3 vols., London, 1780).

³Heinrich Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs* (Stuttgart, 1896); Heinrich Cunow, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches* (Amsterdam, 1937); Hermann Trimborn, "Der Kollektivismus der Inkas in Peru," *Anthropos*, XVIII-XIX (1923-1924), 978-1001.

"primitive" or as "civilized." Some modern students, it is true, have sought to explain this condition as a stage in the normal historical development of civilization, involving a transition from "social" to "political" life. In this development, the Peruvian *ayllu*, a tribe or community, is regarded as a key unit, whose dual character emerged in the latter period of the Inca empire. With the Inca class, the *ayllu* became a lineage of nobles, all of whom traced descent from a given ruler. With the subordinate Incaic population, on the other hand, the *ayllu* became implicated in the decimal organization. The question, certainly, is far from solved. The tribal-political chronology is weak in detail. The relationship of the tribe to the decimal organization, like that of the Inca to the mass, remains problematic.

Two aspects, nevertheless, are easily distinguishable in the Inca philosophy of statehood. Imperial unity demanded a set of centripetal institutions designed to emphasize conformity. Regional order demanded the retention of pre-Inca *curacas* and other ranks, and the perpetuation of local institutions. The antithesis of local and central authority in Peru created complex administrative problems, wherein the requirements of state religion and military power competed with long-established autonomies. The task of maintaining a true empire depended always upon the adequate functioning of such centripetal policies in controlling the independent tendencies of outlying territories.⁴

These territories had been drawn into the Inca empire by diplomacy or conquest. They were secured by fortresses, colonies, and roads. Administrative programs always originated in Cuzco and exerted an influence from the center, seeking to impose upon the whole area a common religion and a common language through the various devices of centralization. In the Andean region, each valley had been a nursery of incipient culture. Under the Incas a planned order occluded cultural diversities so that wherever Inca practices were encountered, they bore the common stamp impressed from Cuzco at the center. Cuzco had been designed in a microcosmic pattern so that its four quarters contained a sampling of inhabitants from corresponding quarters of the empire. In this geographic nucleus, the Sapa Inca kept small models of his domain, and he received statistical information recorded on

⁴Compare the centralist and the regional historians: Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., 2 vols., London, 1869-1871; Cristóbal de Castro and Diego de Ortega Morejón, "Relación y declaración del modo que este valle de Chíncha y sus comarcas se gobernaban antes que oviese yngas y después q los vuo hasta q los (Christian) os etraron en esta tierra," in Heinrich Trimborn (ed.), *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte des präkolumbischen Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1936), 217-262.

quipus, or knotted strings. The *quipus*, like the models and the city itself, served a significant purpose. In their dependent decimal orders and in their reduction of human life to a statistical level, they expressed some of the essential elements of the Inca political philosophy, a philosophy of unification and control.⁵

In opposition to this central administration, on the other hand, local interests in the Inca state might exercise a variety of powers. For them, it was always possible to exploit the measure of leniency permitted under Inca rule. Imperial policy never favored complete submission; the Incas necessarily evolved methods for preserving local institutions, methods common to all successful empires. At the time of the Spanish conquest, moreover, when the Inca government was beset by both internal and external attack, these regional interests gained an alliance with the white man, whose objective, in this relationship, paralleled that of the Inca caste, and whose resources were employed to extinguish the rival power. The Inca class was completely transformed by the Spanish conquest; the native community passed, subordinated but comparatively intact, from one hegemony to another. Its preservation yields an essential theme in the history of the Andean area and demonstrates the survival of an indigenous social form in conflict with the fabricated symmetry of an administrative superstructure.⁶

When Francisco Pizarro arrived in Peru in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, the Inca empire was embroiled in dynastic schism and civil war. Pizarro, maneuvering native factions, gained an advantage in the conquest. But native society was suffering at the same time a much more lasting rift than the merely factional disturbance between two pretenders for the *borla*. This was the disparity between proletariat and *élite*, a disparity that has been continuous in Peru, in one form or another, from pre-Incaic times to the present. During the Incaic period, the dualism was extreme and pervaded every aspect of society. A religious bifurcation, for example, was expressed in the juxtaposition of local *huaca* cults with a sun worship directed from Cuzco. The allotment and tenure of land, similarly, reflected an economic aspect of the caste system. The road network, an apparent instrument of unification, existed for the Inca class alone or for its armies, and use of the roads was denied to private individuals. It is stated that even linguistically, by means of a pri-

⁵Erland Nordenskiöld, *The Secret of the Peruvian Quipus* (Göteborg, 1925); L. Leland Locke, *The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record* (n.p., 1923).

⁶Hildebrando Castro Pozo, "Social and Economic-Political Evolution of the Communities of Central Perú," in Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians* (2 vols. published, Washington, 1946), II, 483-499.

vate idiom, the Incas customarily maintained themselves aloof at the center of their extraordinary empire.

In this connection it may be observed that sixteenth-century students of pre-conquest life recorded a double set of legends, one exoteric and fabulous, the other clandestine and realistic. The significance of this dual legacy of legend has not always been recognized. Nor have the two schools of post-conquest historians⁷ been adequately interpreted in this light. In general terms, and in so far as the distinctions are valid, the so-called Toledan School represented, in colonial form, the indigenous or non-Inca point of view. This group expressed the attitude of local leaders in their alliance with the Spanish administration and in opposition to the Inca class. The Toledan School of history derived an impetus also from Europe and dedicated itself to a European prejudice against the Inca dynasty at a time when official Spanish interests were served by the vilification of the Inca class as despotic and illegitimate. Appropriately, this historiography coincided with a period of Peruvian social reform, remarkable for its awareness of pre-conquest imperial relationships. The Garcilassan School, on the other hand, sought to dignify Inca history at the expense of both the native proletariat and the Spanish government. It is noteworthy, in view of the survival of the *ayllu* through Incaic, colonial, and republican history, that the Toledan School now enjoys a pragmatic justification not accorded to that of Garcilasso, devoted as the latter was to the veneration of a moribund caste.⁸ Colonial historiography, in fact, reflected many pre-conquest social tensions. The double set of colonial historical writings had a wider origin than the simple impact of Spanish upon American peoples; its dual character was formed in some measure by the conflicts of discrepant elements in both pre-conquest cultures.

We should not look for the "alliance" of Spanish and indigenous interests in formal agreements, nor should we expect the relationship to have persisted harmoniously through the entire colonial period. A similarity of immediate interest, resulting in the destruction of the Inca class, was never consistently upheld. The survival

⁷The recognition of two historical schools, the Toledan and the Garcilassan, was first made by Jiménez de la Espada and has become standard in Peruvian studies. Means developed the analysis, and a summary of the subject is given in his "Summary of Impressions"; Philip Ainsworth Means, "Biblioteca andina. Part One. The Chroniclers, or, the Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Who Treated of the Pre-Hispanic History and Culture of the Andean Countries," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXIX (1928), 518 ff. For a convincing modification, see John Howland Rowe, "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area," *American Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of American Archaeology*, X (1945), 265-284.

⁸Means, "Biblioteca andina," 521 ff.

of both groups need indicate little more than mutual dependence. During the conquest, a series of internal divisions permitted strategic alliances contrary to the main historical theme. Deserters from each faction sought shelter in the camps of alleged enemies. In the fusions of interest, normal sanctions of loyalty and treason disappeared. During the period of colonial wars, furthermore, an *encomienda* system combined with other military and labor practices to disorganize Peruvian society. Not until the end of the sixteenth century when Spanish policy became integrated under viceregal government did the traditional stratifications of American colonial life finally occur in Peru. Native groupings, after their self-assertion in the early conquest period and their near extinction under the *encomienda* system, were subordinated, but protected, in the colonial government of the Spanish empire.

The other element of pre-conquest society, the ruling class, is retained today only in a few disconnected fragments of Inca imperial administration. The Incas' achievement drew Spanish attention and invited destruction. Paradoxically, the factors that assured its success in mastering native social forms were the very factors that contributed to its defeat at the hands of the *conquistadores*. The organic unity of the Inca state attracted the Spaniards along well-constructed arteries to the vulnerable national heart. The imperial order, designed to impress a native mass, impressed no less strongly the Spanish soldier, whose facilities for destruction were unexpectedly great. The Inca class, in its living habits, in its insignia of dress, in its private physical deformity, and in its divine relationship to the sun, had succeeded in disassociating itself from original Andean society. In so doing it had established itself at the forefront of Peruvian life, and it had prepared itself to resist aggression and to suppress internal disorder within the limits of its experience. The conquest may be compared, in part, with the history of old-world disease in native America, in that much of its effectiveness is attributable to native unfamiliarity with its methods of attack and to the absence of effective resistance or immunity. The American capacity to withstand aggression was never successfully adapted to European warfare in any of its many forms.

After displacing the Inca caste, the Spaniards incorporated many of the surviving members of this caste as *curacas* or other officials in the colonial government. The result was a disorganized and tentative leadership whose corruptions contrasted equally with Inca precedent and Spanish purpose. In the mid-sixteenth century, the colonial administration faced the very problem that the Inca, with methods peculiar to Andean culture, had solved centuries before. Certain phases of Spanish rule were guided by deliberate imitation of antecedent Inca practice. The Inca pro-

gram of linguistic unification accorded perfectly with Spanish requirements of religious conformity. The Spaniards' final selection of Quechua as a *lingua franca* preserved a specific feature of the original native state.

In general, however, religious and economic prejudices precluded direct Spanish adoption of more than a few of the well-established Inca policies. Spanish administrators tended to ignore the inland imperial center at Cuzco; they constructed a new city at Los Reyes (Lima). Water-transportation techniques and the European emphasis upon extraction of precious metals gave a new focus to social and economic life. The cult of sun worship, an essential feature of Inca policy, declined before the Spanish program of Catholic conversion, for which, in part at least, the conquest had been undertaken. The suppression of sun worship occasioned a reëmphasis on local *huaca* cults, just as the truncation of the political hierarchy revived the independent authority of many local chiefs, in contrast to the ancient Inca system.⁹

Direct efforts on the part of Spaniards to invoke Inca practices proved to be, in large measure, insubstantial and temporary. The extreme program of Las Casas and other moralists, favoring retention of native society in an almost pure form, could not be met. The end result was compromise and fusion, and an Hispanic solution was devised for the recurrent problems of Peruvian sovereignty. The middle decades of the sixteenth century constituted a transitional era, an era in which the cumbersome machinery of Spanish imperial government struggled to replace that portion of Inca authority that had been destroyed. With the reforms of Viceroy Toledo, in the latter sixteenth century, the new administration became more firmly established, and the intermediate period came to an end. Toledo's achievement reconciled Spanish and Inca methods for dominating a native mass. At the same time it reconciled practical colonial administration with the moralistic tradition of natural right. More than any other colonial governor, Toledo opposed the remnant Inca tyrants on moral grounds and reasserted the sympathy of interest between Spanish officials and local native groups. More than any other governor, also, he concerned himself with the study of pre-conquest social forms and with the establishment of continuity between pre- and post-conquest life. His viceroyalty is a convenient terminal point for the historical process studied in the present paper, the process whereby the Inca system of sovereignty yielded to that of the sixteenth-century Spanish empire.

⁹George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," in Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, II, 331-410; Philip Ainsworth Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780* (New York and London, 1932).

CHAPTER II

Dynastic Succession in the Inca State

The problem of dynastic succession has received comparatively slight attention from students of Inca society.¹ Unlike many other aspects of Peruvian culture, it has remained largely inaccessible to archaeological and anthropological techniques. Its study depends upon a great body of literary evidence, often contradictory and obscure, and of extremely uneven value.² The question of succession is intimately associated with the whole question of Peruvian bibliography, and its solution is a function of large-scale bibliographical interpretation. In spite of these obstacles, the processes of succession must here be treated as an essential theme of Inca sovereignty.

The assumption is often made that the war between Atahualpa and Huascar arrested the tradition of Inca inheritance at the fortuitously contemporaneous moment of European attack and thus contributed to the Spanish victory through an extraordinary coincidence. This civil war, furthermore, is traced to a long-standing weakness in the Inca state: the want of a specific rule governing succession. A better-regulated system, it is believed, involving more precise designation of the heir, and operating similarly in each case, might easily have prevented or forestalled the conquest.³ But even admitting the relationship between a "weak" succession principle and this fraternal war, we must recognize at least one limitation in such reasoning. For our purpose, it is limited by its emphasis upon non-American values in the social context of Peru. The "weakness" of the Inca succession principle is, in large measure, contingent upon an unpredictable attack by a people employing foreign strategies and weapons. Within the matrix of its own culture, the Inca dynasty felt no necessity to obey precise

¹The subject is nowhere given extensive specific treatment. General statements are to be found in Philip Ainsworth Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* (New York and London, 1931); John Howland Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, II, 183-330.

²Bibliographical summaries of this literature are given in Means, "Biblioteca andina"; Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, II; Louis Baudin, *L'empire socialiste des Inka* (Paris, 1928); and in many special studies and more general bibliographies.

³Recognition of the dynastic war as an essential factor in Spanish success is as old as the conquest itself; see Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," in *Biblioteca de autores mexicanos*, XVIII (Mexico, 1898), 420.

rules of inheritance. It had evolved or adopted a system whereby that son who was judged most capable of governing became his father's successor. To this it had added traditions of incest, primogeniture, and celestial descent. To conceive that this society valued its dynastic method despite the entailed risk of civil war is once again to misjudge the issue. The deliberate choice of a strong ruler does not conduce to internal strife. In a society so mathematically and genetically unified as that of the Inca, any large-scale rebellion necessarily affected the Inca himself, and easily acquired dynastic significance. The legitimist aspect of the war received attention chiefly from later moralists and historians serving other interests. The emphasis that portrayed Atahualpa as an illegitimate usurper was easily adapted to both Garcilassan and Toledan ends. But Inca history offers many examples of civil uprising,⁴ and the coincidence of Spanish conquest becomes less impressive as the incidence of native factional warfare is multiplied.

The Inca policy was, so far as possible, to suppress all record of such warfare. Side by side with the history of dynastic strife, there exists a tradition of peaceful "legitimate" succession from father to eldest son. The tradition is factually unreliable but is important for its rôle in the pervasive dichotomy of Incaic culture. Its classic statement comes to us through Garcilasso, who postulated an unbroken succession of legitimate Inca heirs, his own ancestors.⁵ The male sun and the female moon, husband and wife, brother and sister, were the progenitors of the Inca lineage. Each Inca ruler had married his sister,⁶ and their first-born male child in every case became heir to the kingdom. Each Inca ruler was descended from the incestuous marriage of sun and moon

⁴Rowe mentions many of these revolts in his section on "History of the Andean Area to 1532"; "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," 201 ff. Revolts pertinent to the present study are mentioned throughout the chapter. For warfare as an element in Inca society see Joseph Bram, *An Analysis of Inca Militarism* (New York, 1941).

⁵For the genealogical tree of Garcilasso, see *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, iii ff.

⁶There was evidently a tradition that the marriage and the coronation took place on the same day: Juan de Betáncos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas, que los Indios llamaron Capaccuna, que fueron señores de la ciudad del Cuzco y de todo lo á ella sujeto* (Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., Madrid, 1880), 113; Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," in Clements R. Markham (trans. and ed.), *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas* (London, 1873), 105 ff. The rule seemingly was seldom observed. For an interesting account of the combined wedding and coronation ceremony of Huayna Capac see Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 105 ff.

and was himself the son of incestuous parents. The rule of brother-sister marriage had been imposed at the beginning and had never been disobeyed. The blood of the ruling Inca dynasty had never been contaminated with the blood of human beings.⁷

Nearly all the early authorities of Peru recognized this dynastic ideal.⁸ Their affirmation, however, was generally invalidated by detailed contradictions. Garcilasso himself admitted exceptions to his rule. The Indians' credulity, he said, was such that they accepted the rulers' pretension to solar descent.⁹ He admitted that the Inca's marriage might be effected in certain cases with younger sisters or with the most nearly related cousin, niece, or aunt. The failure of the male heir could result even in female succession, as in Spain.¹⁰ Garcilasso recorded the celebrated case of the Inca Viracocha, whose father considered him unfit to succeed and therefore banished him as a shepherd but who returned to dethrone his father and to usurp the Inca authority.¹¹

Other writers could not escape the ambivalent position of Garcilasso. Some like him, accepted the general rule but denied its specific observance.¹² Others recorded variant rules for succession, measurable for our purposes by the degree of departure from Garcilasso's dynastic norm.¹³ Still others divided the problem chronologically, postulating adoption of the incest system at a certain period in Inca history.¹⁴ It is this historical solution that is most convincing. A rule of incest emerging as a dynastic trait in the developing Inca culture is admissible and satisfactory.

If an Incaship depending upon incestuous marriage was an institution of late development in Peruvian society, it becomes

⁷Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 93, 308-309. For statements of racial purity as the sanction for incest see Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (4 vols., Sevilla, 1890-1893), III, 167-168; Pedro de Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., London, 1883), 20; Pedro Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú, y del gobierno y órden que los naturales tenían, y tesoros que en ella se hallaron," in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (V, Madrid, 1844), 234.

⁸Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 234; Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., Cambridge, 1907), 61.

⁹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 83; II, 261.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, I, 309. The statement is denied by Fray Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru* (2nd series, III, Lima, 1920), 12, and by Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Perú* (2 vols., Madrid, 1906), I, 92-93.

¹¹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 340 ff.

¹²Among these are Oliva and Toledo, *infra*.

¹³Sarmiento, Betáncos, and Santillan, *infra*.

¹⁴Acosta and Cobo, *infra*.

significant to inquire into the nature of the earlier and more general system in vogue at the time that the Inca state was developing. Insight may be gained from the statements of persons belonging to local groups whose societies were not incorporated into the empire until a late date. Succession by blood inheritance seems to have been at most a vague tendency among such peoples. A traditional choice of ruler, based on criteria of strength, virtue, and manliness, persisted in cultural memory long after the Spanish conquest. In the 1550's, inquiries were undertaken upon this question among *curacas* of both *yunga* and *serrano*. The informants agreed that the ruler during his reign had chosen and announced a successor, who thereafter had been recognized as heir and who became ruler at his predecessor's death. This heir was selected from what may have been a kin group. Certain ambiguities in the texts suggest that the system persisted among the subordinate aggregations of the Incaic empire but with some formal modification in the rank of the heir apparent.¹⁵

Abundant evidence forces the conclusion that the original Inca tribe shared this nonhereditary or semihereditary principle of succession. The name of the individual traditionally listed as the second Inca, Sinchi Roca, suggests a rôle of strong military, rather than dynastic, ruler, since the name "Sinchí" is the equivalent of war leader.¹⁶ It has been thought that the Sinchi title persisted through the reign of Capac Yupanqui, and that beginning with Inca Roca, the Inca title was adopted.¹⁷ Montesinos, however,

¹⁵Castro, "Relacion y declaracion . . . de Chincha," 243; Fernando de Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas* (Madrid, 1879), 25 ff. Garcilasso recognized the existence of this system in Peru but preferred to consider it a non-Inca trait; *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 340. Some information collected under Viceroy Toledo, on the other hand, suggests that a strict hereditary system for the *curaca* offices had been violated by Tupac Inca Yupanqui; see Francisco de Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío y gobierno de los Ingas hechas por mandado de Don Francisco de Toledo Virey del Perú," in *Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos* (XVI, Madrid, 1882), 189. For another statement of succession rules for lower officials in the Inca hierarchy see Miguel Cabello Balboa, *Obras* (I, Quito, 1945), 328-329.

¹⁶Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 187. Garcilasso gave to Sinchi Roca a legitimate birth, in spite of his name, as the eldest son of Manco Capac and his sister, Coya Mama Ocllo Huaco: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 92. See also Betánczos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 17; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 130.

¹⁷Max Uhle, "Los orígenes de los Incas," in *Actas del XVII° congreso internacional de americanistas sesión de Buenos Aires, 17-23 de mayo de 1910* (Buenos Aires, 1912), 342.

referred to Inca Roca as Sinchi.¹⁸ José de Acosta, the sixteenth-century Spanish historian, after many years of study in Peru, concluded that a precedent of incestuous dynasty had not been established until the late fifteenth century, at the nuptial of Tupac Yupanqui and his consanguine sister, Mama Oclo. Official incest with the whole sister, according to Acosta, appeared first under Huayna Capac, the ruling Inca at the time of Pizarro's first expedition to Peru (1524), and the father of Atahualpa.¹⁹ Most leading sources agree upon the general statement that incestuous dynastic marriage was in existence by the time of Tupac Yupanqui.²⁰ We may postulate with fair confidence a rule of increasingly restrictive endogeny²¹ during the period of Inca ascension, a rule that reached its final form (marriage to the whole sister) late in Inca history and that was accompanied by a popular tradition of solar and lunar descent.²²

Theoretically the oldest male offspring of this royal pair succeeded to the *borla*. Father Cobo recorded the tradition of succession to "el hijo primogénito do los legítimos" and the exclusion of all other sons.²³ Variation from this standard, however, was widely and credibly recorded. Sarmiento de Gamboa, after exhaustive research into Inca history in the mid-sixteenth century, wrote that the custom of legitimate succession had seldom been

¹⁸Fernando Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru* (Philip Ainsworth Means, trans. and ed., London, 1920), 85.

¹⁹Joseph de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (2 vols., Madrid, 1894), II, 175-176, 196; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 305, 320, 329. Cobo wrote that both these marriages were to the whole sister, but he was emphatic in ascribing the first incestuous marriage to Tupac Yupanqui in the late fifteenth century: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 167-168.

²⁰Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 20, 26; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 234; Betánczos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 113; Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 76 ff.; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 305, 320.

²¹Cobo denied the development of this practice. To him it was the sudden creation of Tupac Yupanqui: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 167-168. See also Juan de Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito* (Henri Ternaux-Compans, trans. and ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1840), I, 67.

²²Concerning the ascription of sex to the sun and moon, and their marriage, see Blas Valera, "De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú," in Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas*, 138; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 458; Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 30; Betánczos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 73; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias Perú* (Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., 4 vols., Madrid, 1881-1897), I, 85. One tradition substituted tierra for moon; see Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y Tierra-Firme del mar océano* (4 vols., Madrid, 1851-1855), IV, 223.

²³Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 284.

observed. Succession, he said, went to that son whom the Inca preferred, or to the one whose mother he most loved, or to the one most able to rule.²⁴ Some of our most trustworthy sources reach surprising agreement on this point, combining hereditary elements with the basic policy of strong rule. Juan de Betáncos, whose knowledge of Inca tradition derived from his marriage to Dona Angelina, a Christianized sister of Atahualpa, identified the legitimate heir as the son of the legal wife and said that in case of the failure of this line the Incaship devolved upon the eldest son by another sister of the Inca. If, however, this son were judged incapable of ruling, the most capable of the other sons was selected.²⁵ Fernando de Santillan, another prime authority, writing in response to a royal questionnaire some thirty years after the conquest, likewise combined hereditary and Sinchi elements. When the Inca had many sons, he wrote, succession was not necessarily to the eldest, but to the one chosen by the Inca for qualities of manliness. If this heir died, one of his brothers was selected by the assembled *orejones* (chiefs).²⁶ Many other traces, or possible traces, of the Sinchi election principle are discoverable.²⁷ We may reasonably ascribe to Inca succession a development similar to that of sister incest, of which it may have been a cultural function. The Sinchi method of election seems to have been both historically earlier and culturally more diffused. It is not improbable that the Incas introduced into this common institution gentilitial elements of hereditary descent, the precise definition of which they may never have realized completely.

When our sources leave the subject of general regulations, however, and descend to specific cases in dynastic history, the practical flexibility of Inca incest and inheritance becomes abundantly clear. Violations of the principle of sister marriage were widely reported in Inca tradition, even while the general principle was upheld. Father Oliva, for example, described the principle of sister marriage as an inviolable law originating with Manco Capac,

²⁴Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 123.

²⁵Betáncos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, 114-115.

²⁶Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 24 ff.

²⁷Velasco stated that the eldest son of one of the concubines could inherit the *borla*: Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 65; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 175-176. Morua stated that the son of the Coya became Inca but that if this Coya had many sons, the most manly and "capaz para la guerra" of these or of their half brothers might succeed: Martín de Morua, *Historia de los Reyes del Peru* (Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, 2nd series, IV, Lima, 1922), 129. The best evidence, however, is in the specific dynastic history of the Inca regime, described below.

the legendary founder of the Inca line. In Oliva's history, however, Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca, married his cousin, Mama Curi Yllpay Coya, and, being childless was succeeded by his nephew, Capac Yupanqui.²⁸ Official exogamous relations of other early Incas—Sinchí Roca,²⁹ Lloqui Yupanqui,³⁰ Yahuar Huaccac,³¹ and Viracocha³²—are specifically mentioned by recorders of Inca tradition. Cieza's account of the marriage of Lloqui Yupanqui, written in the early sixteenth century, may be considered a reasonably pure version. It is especially enlightening for the insight it affords into the development of the incest system. Lloqui Yupanqui, in Cieza's account, married the daughter of an official of Zañu. Sinchí Roca, the ruling Inca and the father of Lloqui Yupanqui, opposed the marriage. But the *orejones* favored it for reasons of expediency, believing that such alliances were prudent while the group remained comparatively weak.³³ The principle of incestuous marriage may most conveniently be understood as a luxury trait, a perquisite of group strength. Further evidence thus supports the conclusion that incest rules may have been of late development.

If the history of royal Inca incest brings to light many specific violations of the traditional ideal, the history of dynastic succession in the Inca state proves no less revealing. Violations or attempted violations of the inheritance principle almost always accompanied civil strife. Once again our authorities recorded specific historical events in defiance of a general rule. Consistently the tradition of rebellion and illegitimate succession in the literature opposes another tradition of legitimacy and peace. Garcilasso stated that in the whole Inca period there were hardly any instances of rebellion.³⁴ The recorded Inca history yields a very different conclusion.

²⁸Anello Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou* (Henri Ternaux-Compans, trans. and ed., Paris, 1857), 23, 44. For other versions of Mayta Capac's exogamy see Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 275-276; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 105; Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos, en las islas, y Tierra-Firme de el Mar Oceano* (4 vols. as bound, Madrid, 1726-1730), Dec. 5, p. 65.

²⁹Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 260; Betáncos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 17. Cf. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 93; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 23.

³⁰Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 273. Cf. Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 103.

³¹Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 284; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 114; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, pp. 66-67.

³²Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 286; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 121.

³³Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 100.

³⁴Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 218.

From the time of Sinchi Roca, the first "historic" Inca, reports of illegitimate succession are legion. Sinchi Roca's proper heir, Manco Sapaca, did not appear in the list of Inca rulers. His Inca-ship was usurped by another son, Lloqui Yupanqui.³⁵ Revolution attended the succession of Lloqui Yupanqui's grandson, Capac Yupanqui, whose many brothers contested the claim. The eldest brother, Cunti Mayta, was disinherited, it was said, on account of his ugliness, or perhaps because he had been beaten in a battle, and Capac Yupanqui was chosen in his place. Capac Yupanqui's tyranny in forcing his brothers' submission led to a plot in support of another brother, Tarco Huaman, who, significantly, was judged "más valiente, discreto y hombre de buen consejo." Capac Yupanqui was able to subdue this plot by diplomacy and persuasion.³⁶ Later a revolt against his grandson, Yahuar Huaccac (Inca Yupanqui), was similarly turned aside. This Inca had been kidnapped in his youth by some enemies in an intrigue with the royal family. The people were said to have brought the rebellion to an end by bearing him gifts.³⁷

A second revolt during the reign of Yahuar Huaccac resulted in his assassination and the succession of his son, Viracocha.³⁸ In this famous uprising, Viracocha returned from exile barely in time to save the empire from revolution and donned the red fringe without removing his father's insignia.³⁹ In another version a military outbreak resulted in the death of Yahuar Huaccac without male issue and the choice of Viracocha by the *orejones* after a period of confusion.⁴⁰ Against Viracocha, in turn, a large portion of the empire revolted. The Chancas rose in rebellion and a local tyrant emerged in Cuzco, in the person of Capac, a paternal

³⁵Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 64; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 260, 271, 273. The legitimist version, that Lloqui Yupanqui was the eldest son of Sinchi Roca and his sister-wife, is given by Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 100; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 160-161; Morúa, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 37.

³⁶Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 69; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 279; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 141-142; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 66. The version of Cieza de León made Capac Yupanqui the eldest son of Mayta Capac: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 106.

³⁷Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 73 ff.; Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 89-90; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 282.

³⁸Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 147 ff. Cieza de León describes this regicide: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 117 ff.

³⁹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 340 ff.

⁴⁰Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, pp. 67-68; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 117 ff.

uncle of the Inca. The would-be usurper was nearly successful, according to the sources, and was at the point of assuming the *borla*, when Viracocha, returning from the war, attracted to his own side many of Capac's adherents and suppressed the rebellion.⁴¹

A great variety of reporting baffles an examination of the succession following Viracocha's reign. Inca Roca, the eldest son, was ignored both by Viracocha, who preferred Urco, and by the *orejones*, whose choice fell on the third in the line of sons, Cusi, later called Inca Yupanqui and Inca Pachacutec.⁴² Viracocha, in his anxiety for Urco's succession, caused this prince to be treated as the Inca and to be accorded such traditional marks of respect as the greeting with bowed head and bared feet and the table service of the *Sopa Inca*. Urco's brief reign was abruptly terminated by the accession of his brother, Inca Yupanqui, or Pachacutec.⁴³ Variant traditions reported this succession as both peaceful and turbulent. According to one, Pachacutec took advantage of the period of wars (probably the great Chanca invasion) to effect the assassination of Urco, pretending that his brother had been killed in battle.⁴⁴ Another reported Pachacutec's reluctance to assume the Incaship during his father's lifetime, until Viracocha, persuaded by the great number of *orejones* who supported Pachacutec, abandoned his support of Urco, abdicated the Incaship, and placed the *borla* on the head of Pachacutec, his third son.⁴⁵ Still another told of a fratricidal war between the two princes, in which Urco, the designated heir, was killed by the followers of the young pretender. The victor and another brother then visited the Inca, Viracocha, forcing him to acquiesce in Pachacutec's sovereignty.⁴⁶

The narrative of this succession given by Herrera is worthy of particular attention. Herrera's unceremonious borrowings from the wealth of sources at his disposal may often serve the modern historian in good stead. Viracocha, in Herrera's version, had

⁴¹Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 127; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 24; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, pp. 68-69; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 287-288.

⁴²The identification as Pachacutec is probable but not certain; see below.

⁴³For Urco's reign see Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 287 ff.; Betánczos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, 33 ff.; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 85. Cieza de León and Herrera reverse the parties, making Viracocha favor Pachacutec against the pro-Urco *orejones*: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 129, 137, 141 ff.; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, pp. 68 ff.

⁴⁴Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 289; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 161; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 87 ff.

⁴⁵Betánczos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, 59 ff., 116 ff.

⁴⁶Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 104-105; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 64 ff.

retired in favor of Urco, when the Chanca invasion threatened the Inca state. The Chancas were approaching Cuzco itself. Viracocha and Urco were indifferent to the danger. At the request of the *orejones*, Pachacutec assumed charge of the nation's defense, defeated the Chancas, and, in spite of the rather feeble objections of Urco, ruled as Inca.⁴⁷ The incident, quite consistent with Inca practice, reveals the working flexibility of the succession principle. Viracocha, Urco, and Pachacutec were available to meet the danger. Pachacutec, the least "legitimate," defeated the enemy and became the Inca.

Dynastic conspiracies and revolutions continued after the accession of Pachacutec. When one of his brothers rose against him, 6,000 rebels were captured and assembled at Yanayaco. As a merciful punishment, Pachacutec agreed not to kill them but to condemn them and their descendants to a condition of hereditary service, called *Yanacona*.⁴⁸ Again, in Pachacutec's old age, the state was beset with disorders, attendant this time upon Pachacutec's choice of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, in opposition to the claim of Amaru Tupac Inca. The latter, according to one version, was the weak but "legitimate" heir. In a rich and unusual ceremony, Tupac Inca Yupanqui was crowned while Pachacutec still reigned, in order to discourage rival claimants.⁴⁹ A different version described the prior selection, by the Inca, of Amaru Tupac Inca, here referred to as the third son. He ruled during five or six years, while Pachacutec was still alive. But his brother and the other *orejones*, and Pachacutec himself, soon realized Amaru Tupac Inca's incapacity for rule. When the fourth brother, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, distinguished himself in the suppression of the great Callao revolt, Pachacutec reversed the former decision and chose this brother as successor.⁵⁰

Huayna Capac, a young and "illegitimate" prince, in one version, was selected by his father as a worthy heir.⁵¹ Another tradition

⁴⁷Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 71. For the Chanca revolt see Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 86.

⁴⁸Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 327-328; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 147.

⁴⁹At Pachacutec's death the ceremony was repeated; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 125 ff. See also Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 167; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 171-172.

⁵⁰Bartolomé de Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú* (Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., Madrid, 1892), 214 ff. For variants of this history see Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 167-168; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 114; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 74.

⁵¹Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 236; Castro "Relaçion y declaraçion . . . de Chinchá," 238, 243; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 153.

made Huayna Capac the "legitimate" heir, as the eldest son of Tupac Inca Yupanqui and Mama Ocllo, the *coya*, or sister-wife.⁵² In any case, a rivalry developed between Huayna Capac and his brother, Capac Huari, whom some considered to have been the Inca's choice. While arrangements were being made in Cuzco to crown Huayna Capac, his supporters took advantage of an accusation that Capac Huari's mother, Mama Chiqui Ocllo, a concubine of the Inca, had poisoned Tupac Inca Yupanqui. They executed Mama Chiqui Ocllo and banished (or executed) the pretender, Capac Huari.⁵³

Huayna Capac, after the suppression of his rivals, was still too young to assume office. The empire was ruled by Apoc Hualpaya, an uncle or cousin of Huayna Capac. This regent, with designs on the Incaship either for himself or for his son, secretly assembled a rebel army and smuggled arms into Cuzco in baskets allegedly containing coca and other products. The plot was discovered, and the leaders were executed barely in time to avert the uprising. After several years of regent rule, Huayna Capac assumed the Incaship.⁵⁴

The succession following Huayna Capac's reign is the most famous of the pre-conquest period and has been subjected to the greatest variety of interpretation. In the sixteenth century, Spanish interests imbued it with an ethical significance which it has never lost. Questions of legitimacy and usurpation commanded significant attention in the intellectual atmosphere of mid-century Spain, disturbed by scruples regarding the rôle of Spaniards in America. In the carefully-drawn codes of authorized Christian conquest, it became important to establish Atahualpa as an illegitimate usurper. But the extent to which concepts of "legitimacy" may have figured in pre-conquest America is indeterminable. The traditional successions of Inca history, coming to us in a European language and written by Europeans or acculturated natives, suggest an awareness of a principle of "correct" succession, whose application, however, was rarely

⁵²Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 336; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 194.

⁵³Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 153 ff. Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 336-337; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 77. The involvement of still other younger brothers in this conspiracy is suggested by some documents of Vaca de Castro; Luis Eduardo Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," *Revista del Museo Nacional*, II (1933), 79.

⁵⁴Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 104 ff.; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 156-157; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 178-179; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 337-338.

uncontested. Within the limits of a large agnatic kin group, succession appears to have been not simply to the one judged to be strongest, but often to the one whose strength was proved in conflict against rival claimants. At least one set of traditions completely reversed the European concept of legal inheritance by assigning a status of primogeniture and legitimacy to the victor in these fraternal quarrels. In practice, the deed became inseparable from its sanction, a process that was enormously facilitated in the Incaic state, by institutional indoctrination and censorship.

Considered in relation to the recorded history of Inca dynastic warfare, then, the struggle between Atahualpa and Huascar reveals few points of interest. Its chief features—the Inca's appointment of an heir in Cuzco, the Inca's departure and his death in a remote province, the return of the Inca's body, the invasion led by a rival claimant to the Incaship, a fraternal war—are all familiar episodes from previous Inca tradition, both as disconnected incidents and as one continuous narrative.⁵⁵ The chief item of interest in the succession of Atahualpa and Huascar is the alleged division of the empire into two separate and legally constituted parts.⁵⁶ Huayna Capac according to all major authorities, died in Quito,⁵⁷ and the Inca title was then contested by his two sons, Atahualpa, in Quito, and Huascar, in Cuzco.⁵⁸ Almost immediately, however, two versions of Atahualpa's claim began to be

⁵⁵For a remarkable parallel see Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 46 ff.

⁵⁶According to Cieza de León, Tupac Hualpa, the father of Huayna Capac and the conqueror of Quito, had recognized that the empire would be divided with Quito and Cuzco as capitals: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 181.

⁵⁷A characteristic statement is Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chíncha," 239. Cf. Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, who wrote that Huayna Capac first crowned Atahualpa in Quito and then proceeded to Cuzco, where he crowned Huascar: *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* (Colección de libros y documentos referentes á la historia de América, II, III, IV, X, Madrid, 1904-1910), IV, 440, 444.

⁵⁸Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 505 ff.; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 226 ff. It was the custom for a departing Inca to leave a ruler in charge at Cuzco. Huascar may have been such a ruler without having been designated as heir; see Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chíncha," 239; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 46-47; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 342; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 160; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 69. For the war between Atahualpa and Huascar see Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 172 ff.; Francisco de Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," in Clements R. Markham (trans. and ed.), *Reports on the Discovery of Peru* (London, 1872), 64; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 80; Pedro de Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, A.D. 1532-50,

recorded. Some said that Huayna Capac on his deathbed had divided the kingdom, with Huascar's approval, between the two sons.⁵⁹ The story is accepted by many modern historians. It finds no place, however, in one group of the earlier writings. Herrera, for example, did not mention it, and those who sympathized with Huascar considered the story of Huayna Capac's division of the empire to have been simply a fabrication of the Quito party.⁶⁰ Certain generals, they said, especially Chalicuchima, Quizquiz, and Rumiñavi, recognized an interest in Quito separatism, an interest that could not be satisfied by the return to Cuzco.⁶¹ Certainly testamentary division of empire accords more with European than with native American political history. It is easy to imagine how, after the death of Huayna Capac, an historical justification could be invented for Atahualpa's rule, a justification, furthermore, that would appeal to European concepts of

contained in the First Part of his Chronicle of Peru (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., London, 1864), 273; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 237; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 180 ff.; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 193 ff.; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 392 ff.; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 86 ff.; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 27 ff.; Cristóbal de Molina de Santiago, "Relacion de lo conquista y poblacion del Peru," in *Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru* (1st series, I, Lima, 1916), 152 ff.

⁵⁹Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, 273; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 221-222; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 450 ff.; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 238; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 192-193; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 179; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 23.

⁶⁰Garcilasso wrote that Atahualpa, well aware of his own bastard origin, had slaughtered Huascar's relatives in order to eliminate more legitimate rivals: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 515 ff. See also Antonio de Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares en esta monarquia* (Barcelona, 1639), 454; Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 190; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 186. That the story was in doubt and that it was not accepted by skeptical sixteenth-century writers is evident from the discussion of Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias idolatrias y gobierno en México y Perú antes de la conquista* (Colección de libros raros ó curiosos que tratan de América, XIV, XV, Madrid, 1897), XV, 219. A very thoughtful modern interpretation, equally skeptical, is given by Jijón y Caamaño in his edition of Lope de Atienza: *Compendio historial del estado de los indios del Peru con mucha doctrina y cosas notables de ritos, costumbres e inclinaciones que tienen, con docta doctrina y avisos para los que viven entre estos neofitos*, in Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño (ed.), *La religión del imperio de los Incas* (2 vols., Quito, 1919-1931), II, 246.

⁶¹Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 192-193.

legality. That the party of Atahualpa should have legitimized its origin is, we know, far more in accord with previous Inca practice than that Huayna Capac should have divided the kingdom. Beyond this the question is one for speculation only.

The question of legitimacy in the case of Atahualpa and Huascar, as it was discussed in the sixteenth century, depended in part upon a determination of their relative ages. A very respectable tradition exists, nevertheless, identifying a "legitimate" brother older than both. This was Ninan Cayuchi, whose death or exile before or immediately after the death of Huayna Capac precipitated the war between the more famous younger brothers.⁶² According to one version, Ninan Cayuchi died in Quito, where he, with his brother, Atahualpa, had been taken by Huayna Capac.⁶³ The news of Ninan Cayuchi's death gave Huascar an opportunity to rule in Cuzco, where he complied with the traditional marriage and coronation ceremony.⁶⁴ A second version of this history, a *quipu* record preserved by Vaca de Castro, assumed that the "legitimate" heir, Ninan Cayuchi, had remained in the south. This record described a rivalry between Ninan Cayuchi and Huascar for the Incaship, after the news of Huayna Capac's death had reached Cuzco. Ninan Cayuchi's effort to assume the *borla* was frustrated by a conspiracy of nobles headed by Auki Tupac Inca, a brother of Huayna Capac. The nobles supported Huascar's claims, exiled Ninan Cayuchi, and accepted Huascar as Inca.⁶⁵ The swift elimination of Ninan Cayuchi should not pass unnoticed. The sources suggest not only that he had been the "legitimate" heir on account of prior birth but that Huayna Capac had chosen him as the successor,⁶⁶ and that after Huayna Capac's death an official examining body had assigned succession to him.⁶⁷

While Huayna Capac's body was being carried from Quito, where the death occurred, to Cuzco, where the mummy was to

⁶²Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 367-368; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 189-190; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 26. The supposed mother of Ninan Cayuchi, by another tradition, was said to have died without issue; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 160.

⁶³Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 160, 167 ff.

⁶⁴Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 111; Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León*, 272; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 368.

⁶⁵Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 80.

⁶⁶Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 167-168.

⁶⁷Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 367. Garcilasso believed that Huayna Capac had married "legitimately" three times: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 351-352.

be preserved,⁶⁸ a plot was formed to assassinate Huascar and to elevate a fourth brother, Cusi Atauchi. Cusi Atauchi himself was said to be innocent, but the plot was discovered, and by Huascar's order the rival brother was killed.⁶⁹ In the legitimist version, Huayna Capac had selected Huascar as the Inca, either of the southern half or of the whole empire.⁷⁰ But in another tradition, Huascar took advantage of the presence of Huayna Capac's corpse to legitimize himself in an overt act. Huascar's mother, Rahua Ocllo, had been only a concubine of the Inca, and Huascar forced her to marry the dead body of his father, Huayna Capac, in order to legitimize the birth. The chiefs afterward paid homage to Huascar, whose rule was characterized as tyrannous and extreme.⁷¹ The testimony that Huascar's birth had been illegitimate received support from a speech made by Quizquiz after Huascar's defeat at the hands of the Quito faction. Quizquiz vehemently denounced Rahua Ocllo for having been only a royal concubine and for having pretended to be the *Coya*. Faced with this accusation, Huascar's mother is said to have blushed with shame. Quizquiz condemned the ignorant priests and chiefs who had overlooked the rights of Atahualpa in celebrating the accession of the unworthy Huascar.⁷²

Atahualpa's own claims to legitimacy depended, in part, on the imperial schism allegedly bequeathed by Huayna Capac. The date and circumstances of Atahualpa's birth also have been subjects of great interest for partisans of both sides. Atahualpa was variously reported as younger and older than Huascar.⁷³ His mother

⁶⁸Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 169; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 353; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 368 ff. Oviedo and Xérez believed that the head was preserved in one city and the body in the other; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 179; "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 62-63. Cobo said that the body had first been buried in Quito and later removed to Cuzco: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 190. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala illustrates and describes the removal of the body: *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno (Codex péruvien illustré)*—(Paris, 1936), 377-378.

⁶⁹Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 370 ff.

⁷⁰Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 80. Molina of Santiago states that Huascar was the legitimate heir, the son of the Coya of Huayna Capac: "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 151.

⁷¹Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "Añ Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 110 ff.

⁷²Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 424.

⁷³Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 203, 225; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 454; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 439. Herrera states that Huascar, though legitimate, was four years younger than Atahualpa: *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 5.

was variously reported as an Inca and a Quito noblewoman.⁷⁴ His birthplace was given as both Cuzco and Quito.⁷⁵

A study of Inca succession, making use of the available literature, and ignoring ethical judgments, leads to conclusions widely variant from those of many sixteenth-century and more recent historians. The voluminous documentary materials from which the history of pre-conquest Peru is derived are ill-served by the superficial judgment that lightly characterizes Huascar, for example, as the "legitimate" ruler. Certainly legitimacy in the European sense had an unknown meaning in Peru. Those sixteenth-century historians and conquerors who emphasized the usurpation of Atahualpa were guided by Christian and patriotic motives to which the modern historian need no longer feel subjected. The whole import of native American studies lies in the scope they afford for the examination of an isolated new-world civilization. To persist in an old-world judgment is to vitiate this significance and to ignore a complete horizon of human activity to which Europe and Asia may offer no counterpart.

For pre-conquest Peru it is illusory to speak of the rights and ethics of succession. The rule of primogeniture in royal succession had long been familiar in Europe, where usurpation was rare enough to constitute a moral crime. In America, practical succession did not conform so easily to given rule. For our purposes, it is sufficient to remember that all the sources are Europeanized. Natives readily assumed attitudes that elicited approval from their conquerors. The extent to which Garcilasso's dynastic ideal may have influenced real behavior is indeterminable. To invoke this ideal as a moral force, as Spanish rules of succession were applied in Spain, is dangerous and historically indefensible.

The Inca succession principle entailed a tradition of incest and primogeniture beside which practical succession was flexible and adaptive. By a selective use of authorities, it might be shown that Inca succession never developed beyond the Sinchi method.

⁷⁴Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 203; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 78; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 235; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 440; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 152; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 450.

⁷⁵Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 440; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 118; Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 70; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 203, 224. See also Ella Dunbar Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," *Revista histórica* (Lima), XI (1937), 118 ff., and the remarks of Jijón y Caamaño in Atienza, *Compendio historial*, 250 ff.

The extent to which such a selective use of authorities is justified cannot be known. The inclusive variety of the sources is such that an arbitrary selection has often supported a favorite theme. It is possible, however, to regard this variety itself, in all its inclusion, as a primary source. The realities of dynastic warfare were not for common knowledge. The tradition of ideal succession may take its place with other institutions that separated the Inca class from the subordinate Incaic peoples.

CHAPTER III

Unifying Institutions

The Andean area was seemingly ill suited to the type of orderly pattern that the Inca dynasty sought to impose. Geography and climate combined to restrict Inca control to the high plateau and coastal regions and to discourage lateral extension into the low, tropical forest of the Amazon basin. The long, narrow form of the Inca empire was clearly a product of climatic determinants. According to Garcilasso, the Inca employed topographical models as aids in the administration of his government,¹ and if these were faithful to the boundaries of the land, their elongated and asymmetrical shape must have been constant reminders of the empire's geographical disunity. On a modern map, at any rate, the Inca area appears as a remarkably extended figure, a figure in which, seemingly, the concept of the center could have had but little meaning.

Nevertheless, Incaic peoples recognized an important imperial center, the city of Cuzco. This city, by far the most influential urban area of pre-conquest Peru, is associated in popular legend with the beginnings of the Inca peoples, or with their early rise to power. The period at which it first became recognized as an imperial nucleus, or focal point, however, is difficult to determine. Its persistence as a nucleus in the period of longitudinal imperial extension suggests that the elongated form of the later empire may have represented a development beyond an original plan and that at one time a smaller and more symmetrical area recognized this capital as a true imperial center.²

The great imperial expansions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries certainly modified the original patterns of unity and centralization. In the fifteenth century Cuzco's rank was reduced

¹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 190. These were probably only local maps.

²Garcilasso, for example, attributed the construction of the road system to one of the late reigns, that of Huayna Capac: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 452 ff. Toledo's informant stated that the whole empire from Cuzco to Chile and from Cuzco to Quito had been conquered by Tupac Inca Yupanqui, in the late fifteenth century: "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 187 ff.; Juan Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos acerca del notable daño que resulta de no guardar á los indios sus fueros," in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias* (XVII, Madrid, 1872), 14. The statement of late development is characteristic of the Toledan School of history and is convincingly supported by Rowe, "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area"; see also Means, "Biblioteca andina," 518.

by extensive territorial accretions and incomplete consolidations. The noticeably limited authority of this imperial capital at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards is attributable to the conquest of Quito and to the transference of the army's allegiance to the Quito area. Cuzco's prestige, however, would have been only temporarily eclipsed. Atahualpa's strategy did not contemplate a major change in the capital's traditional rôle. His plan to reestablish the Incaship at Cuzco was halted, we are told, only by the arrival of the Spaniards.

In its aspect as imperial center, Cuzco offered features of remarkable interest. It derived its chief influence, perhaps, from its reputation as the legendary city founded by Manco Capac, the "first" Inca ruler. He had selected the site in accordance with the will of his solar father and had been notified of his father's choice by a sign involving a golden staff.³ From the earliest period, therefore, the city had been associated with the main Inca diety. Later, from Cuzco's central square, four royal roads were constructed, linking the center with every outlying part of the empire and affording the means for unification through the sun cult and through other centralizing institutions.⁴ These roads divided the city into four wards, the composition of which epitomized the four imperial quarters. The name of the Inca empire, Tawantinsuyu (Land of Four Parts), expressed and called attention to this quadruple division and its dependence upon the four main highways. Since each city ward contained an epitome of the corresponding imperial quarter, Cuzco became an imperial microcosm as well as a political and religious capital. The correlation of urban and imperial form was said to have originated in the time of Manco Capac, who, according to the belief, located the dwellings of the first vassals nearest to the central point and who then settled other peoples within the city in accordance with their different points of origin.⁵

As a focus for political and religious life, Cuzco was unrivaled. It contained the Inca's residence and the pantheon, and its central

³Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 236; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 22-23; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 48.

⁴Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, 326. Cabello Balboa states that the first acts following the foundation of the city were the construction of the Temple of the Sun and the division of the area into four parts, *Obras*, 261. See also Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 145 ff.

⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 241. For accounts of the four quarters see Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, 323 ff.; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 142. An urban precedent for Cuzco may perhaps be sought in the archaeological Chimu sites of the north coast; see Otto Holstein, "Chan-Chan: Capital of the Great Chimu," *Geographical Review*, XXVII (1927), 36 ff.

square figured extensively in exhibitionary ceremonies that required the participation of the whole empire. Its court was attended by the sons of lords schooled in Inca methods.⁶ Subjects were drawn to the city, similarly, from every part of the land, for the Inca's personal service.⁷ Cuzco was the traditional stage for the elaborate coronation ritual. The strategy of Atahualpa was undoubtedly influenced by the thought of a Cuzco coronation.⁸ The entire city assumed the character of a *huaca*, or holy thing, related in specific ways to venerated solar phenomena.⁹ Every wall of every building was said to hold a mystery.¹⁰ The mummified Inca bodies in the Temple of the Sun were arranged in postures oriented to the urban form and to the solar image.¹¹ Certain towers were constructed as solar gnomons,¹² and specific regulations closed the city to travelers after sundown and before

⁶Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 41; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 217; Morúa, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 123; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 141; Anonymous, "Relacion del origen e gobierno que los Ingas tuvieron y del que habia antes que ellos señoreasen a los indios deste reino y de que tiempo y de otras cosas que al gobierno convenia declaradas, por señores que sirvieron al Inga Yupangui y a Topainga Yupangui, a Guainacapac y a Huascar Inga," in *Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru* (2nd series, III, Lima, 1920), 70; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 101.

⁷Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 64; Anonymous, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 73.

⁸Velasco reported that Atahualpa took only the Scyri insignia in Quito: *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 234. By another tradition, he took the Inca fringe at Tumbamba. Cieza de León wrote that a coronation ceremony away from Cuzco was an absurdity, and that Atahualpa was not to be listed among the true Incas: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 20. Similarly, banishment from Cuzco meant the end of Urco's pretensions after the accession of Pachacutec: *ibid.*, 144, 234.

⁹For an interesting and detailed account of solar rites in Cuzco at the Spaniards' arrival, see Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 265 ff. For similar ceremonies in 1535, see Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 160 ff.

¹⁰Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 15.

¹¹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 273. For an account of the Temple of the Sun and its influence as an imperial religious center, see Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 145 ff.

¹²Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 386 ff. Attempts to relate the urban form of Cuzco and other Peruvian sites to a wider astronomical pattern are probably failures. Cf. Stansbury Hagar, "Cuzco, the Celestial City," in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, 13th Session, New York, 1902* (Easton, Pa., 1905), 217 ff.

sunrise.¹³ All imperial peoples regarded the city as the realization of the sun's will and revered it in the same way that they revered the ruling Inca or the Inca class or the sun itself. Those in the northern part appear to have identified it with the Inca or with the *orejones* and to have referred to both by the same name, *Cuzco*.¹⁴ It was said that if two persons of equal rank met on the roads, the one approaching Cuzco greeted the other as a superior being for having partaken of the sanctity of the city.¹⁵

The Cuzco influence extended to every quarter of the empire by means of the network of Inca roads. It is not the purpose here to offer an extended account of this road system, since detailed studies of the subject are available elsewhere.¹⁶ For present purposes, it is sufficient to note that through these roads Cuzco became a practical and accessible center. The communication system consisted essentially of a coastal and an upland highway, joined by numerous lateral connecting roads. The whole was a most impressive and striking instrument of centralization. The conception and construction of the roads have been attributed to

¹³Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte i un libros rituales i monarquia indiana, con el origen y guerras, de los Indios occidentales* (3 vols., Madrid, 1723), II, 398.

¹⁴Hernando Pizarro, "Letter from Hernando Pizarro to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo," in Clements R. Markham (trans. and ed.), *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, 113; Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 26, 28, 106; Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 319; Anonymous, *The Conquest of Peru as Recorded by a Member of the Pizarro Expedition* (Joseph H. Sinclair, trans. and ed., New York, 1929), 42.

¹⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 270.

¹⁶Philip Ainsworth Means, "A Study of Ancient Andean Social Institutions," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXVII (1925), 462 ff.; Baudin, *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 189 ff.; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 535 ff. Las Casas gives an interesting but possibly unreliable account of the use of the road network in the administration of the empire: *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 166-167. See also Gregorio García, *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1729), 186-187; Hermann Trimbom (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle über das Inkareich," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1934), 411; Diego de Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares del Pirú," in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias* (XI, Madrid, 1869), 29; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 109 ff.; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 128 ff.; Anonymous, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 60; Miguel de Estete, "Relación de la conquista del Perú," in *Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru* (2nd series, VIII, Lima, 1924), 48 ff.; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 355 ff.

various rulers,¹⁷ and in their entirety they were undoubtedly not the product of a single reign or of a single period. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that in spite of the significant quartering of Cuzco, the two main roads seem actually to have crossed at Vilcas-Huamán, a town that may have been the former center of the empire.¹⁸ Vilcas-Huamán, however, never rivalled Cuzco, which was regarded in the sixteenth century as a preëminent imperial nucleus and as the center of the road network.

The Inca systems of *chasquis*, or road runners, and *tambos*, or post houses, are likewise too well known to require extensive elaboration here.¹⁹ It may be pointed out, simply, that a difference of opinion currently engages the attention of historians regarding the efficiency of these communications and of the road system itself. Older observers customarily emphasized the fine workmanship and durability of roads and bridges.²⁰ Recently, however, detractors have pointed out that many of the bridges consisted of nothing more than suspended baskets and that in many areas the highways were recognizable only by a series of markers.²¹ The criticism is based, in part, on economic values identified with European culture, values that are anachronistic and inappropriate when applied to pre-Columbian America.

The avenues of unification afforded by the holy city, with its central square and connecting highways, were exploited in a series of religious ceremonies whose execution always required a high degree of planning and skill. Through well-planned ceremonies, the various relationships of Cuzco to the larger empire found expression in terms of ritual expansion from the center and of ritual contraction from the periphery. Evil forces were expelled and beneficent forces invoked in ways and by routes that may be accurately described as imperial. A series of regularly appointed ceremonial practices constantly impressed upon subordinate peoples the uniformity of Incaic life, and the dependence of each local area upon the central capital.

¹⁷For example, to Huayna Capac and to Inca Yupanqui: Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 452 ff.; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 64 ff.

¹⁸Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 329-330.

¹⁹Means, "A Study of Ancient Andean Social Institutions," 462 ff.; Baudin, *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 189 ff.; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 72 ff.; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 143 ff.; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 174 ff.

²⁰Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 330-331; see especially Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 344 ff.

²¹Bailey W. Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1945), 135.

The most celebrated of these ceremonies was that by which images of local deities were deposited in Cuzco for participation in the activity of the pantheon. As sun worship was disseminated outward, so regional worships were drawn toward the center. At appointed periods of the year, moveable local *huacas* were transported to the central square of Cuzco, where they were collected in rituals involving an all-embracing golden chain.²² The process was associated, significantly, with the sacrifice of representative children from each component of the empire. The Inca, seated in the central square, ordered a quadruple division of the sacrifices, in token of the four imperial provinces, and the various objects of sacrifice were thereupon passed from group to group away from the center, reversing the centripetal direction of the *huacas*. Portions of the sacrifice were offered at each designated point along the route. So efficiently was the entire ceremony conducted, we are told, that no place of worship in the whole empire was ever overlooked. All was planned from Cuzco, where *quipu camayocs*, or accountants, kept continuous records of the sacrifice in progress.²³

The redistribution of local *huacas* from Cuzco to their points of origin, after their participation in the pantheonic life of the capital, followed the direction of the sacrifices, and, like them, expressed a well-developed sense of imperial administration. The *huacas* were first assigned to bearers. The process of redistribution was remarkable for its implication of a purely geometric pattern in the imperial composition. The bearers made no use of the network of roads, but proceeded in straight lines extending outward from the central square of Cuzco. Terrain was regarded as no obstacle. Once again, the journeys were so well ordered, we are told, that in spite of the great number of deliveries to be made, no mistake ever occurred. *Vilca camayocs*, specialists in local geography, gave instructions to the bearers in Cuzco concerning the areas through which they were to travel. The great veneration accorded to the ceremony is evidenced in the behavior of the Indian populations at the bearers' approach. Individuals prostrated themselves until the bearers passed. Peoples in towns remained indoors. Each bearer in his given direction reached the external limit of the empire.²⁴ Certainly this remarkable cere-

²²Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 91 ff.

²³Cristóbal de Molina (of Cuzco), "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," in Clements R. Markham (trans. and ed.), *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas* (London, 1873), 51 ff.; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 64.

²⁴Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 57 ff. The writings of Polo de Ondegardo contain valuable information, gathered at first hand, respecting the nature and disposition of the *huacas*. The most convenient

mony is to be interpreted as more than a mechanical collection and distribution of idols. It is impossible to avoid the impression that the incessant ebb and flow of pantheonic deities represented a ritual of vital participation. This impression is strengthened when it is recalled that from Cuzco's central square the very earth had been distributed throughout the land.²⁵ The historian is again reminded that the Inca may have been envisioning a continuously symmetrical area with its true center at Cuzco rather than the elongated empire of the early sixteenth century.

The periodic convocation and redistribution of local objects of worship, again, are to be associated with the autumnal ceremony of *Situa*. Like other mentioned ceremonies, the *Situa* involved a directional flow with emphasis upon Cuzco as center. Because the *Situa* was concerned with a ritual banishment of evils, however, the flow was rectilinear and external only. Wicked spirits were driven in an expanding circle from the city's central square in a symbolic banishment of illness, disaster, misfortune, and other evils. A great cry was raised, and the shouting was carried farther and farther in an expanding periphery to the farthest limits of the empire. The extermination of evil influences thus originated in Cuzco, and the purged area, from its minute beginnings in the center, steadily expanded until it covered the entire political state. The whole empire was thus ceremonially cleansed. An Inca of the royal blood, as messenger of the sun, touched his lance to the lances of four other Incas waiting in the central square of Cuzco. The people joined in ritual gestures of shaking and washing of clothing. One hundred warriors, in four groups, one for each of the imperial quarters, ran outward from the center, driving evil forces before them. Other Incas, waiting outside the city, received the lances of the first group, and they repeated the process of extermination. When the act was performed at night, exorcists carried torches, and nocturnal evils were driven out of the empire.²⁶ The whole ceremony may perhaps be understood

collection of these writings is contained in *Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru* (1st series, III, IV, Lima, 1916-1917). Other editions and bibliographical information are noted in Means, "Biblioteca andina," 431 ff. Polo's "Relacion de los adoratorios de los indios en los cuatro caminos que salian del Cuzco" is reprinted from Cobo in the above collection. In it Polo associates the four roads and the *ceques*, or coördinates, upon which the local *huacas* were plotted. The two volumes of Polo's writings bear the title *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*.

²⁵Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 79-80.

²⁶The most informative accounts of this ceremony are given in Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, IV, 113 ff.; Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 20 ff.; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 228 ff.; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 331. Guaman Poma illustrates and describes the *Situa* (*Coya Raymi*) as an exclusively nocturnal ceremony: *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 252-253.

as a deprecation of illness at the start of the wet season.²⁷ It may have represented, similarly, a cleansing by means of flowing waters; the four groups of warriors completed their task by bathing in four rivers that flowed away to the sea.²⁸

This sense of peripheral expansion, in spite of its numerous other cultural connotations, is interpreted here as an important key to Inca political success. The conceptual pattern by which the Inca organized the flow of religious symbols was easily adapted to purposes of imperial administration. It is not possible to assign historical priority, of course, to either the religious or the political function. But their common conceptual basis, through a sense of imperial nucleus and control, seems undeniable.

The use of sun worship as an instrument for political unification is familiar to all students of Inca society. The oldest and most satisfactory sources describe the imposition of practices of solar veneration upon subject peoples—the rites, ceremonies, priests, virgins, and all the institutions of the sun cult—as one of the first steps taken after the conquest of a new area.²⁹ The solar planet, in a sense, was but one of numerous secondary deities,³⁰ since it was the creature of the prior god, Viracocha.³¹ It was, nevertheless, everywhere associated with Inca rule and

²⁷Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 21; Cunow, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches*, 204 ff.

²⁸Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, IV, 115; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 97 ff.

²⁹Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 410; Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chíncha," 236; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 293 ff.; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 22; Bartolomé de las Casas, *Colección de las obras del venerable obispo de Chiapa, Don Bartolomé de las Casas, defensor de la libertad de los Americanos* (2 vols., Paris, 1822), II, 186; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 84–85.

³⁰These included as specifically Inca deities, thunder, moon, stars, and rainbow: Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 10 ff.; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 294 ff.

³¹Francisco de Toledo, "Información de las idolatrias de los Incas é Indios y de como se enterraban, etc.," in *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . Archivo de Indias* (XXI, Madrid, 1874), 156; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 7 ff.; Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, XIV, 66. Cabello Balboa states that prior to the time of Inca Yupanqui, who first suggested Viracocha as the creator deity, the sun had been considered "universal hacedor de todo lo hecho, y proveedor de todo lo criado": *Obras*, 251, 295. Viracocha was sometimes associated with Pachacamac: Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chíncha," 246; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 115–116; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 200–201; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relación de los fundamentos," 15.

became, especially in the latter period of the empire, a deity of primary religious and political importance.³²

Manifestations of solar worship permeated every department of Inca life. The sun figured markedly in the coronation and funeral ceremonies.³³ Its personalized form was represented wearing the Inca dress and *llautu*, with ear lobes extended in the Inca manner.³⁴ The Sopa Inca knew it reverently and intimately as his private confessor.³⁵ When new provinces were added to the empire, furthermore, a few of the most perfect physical specimens of the conquered people were customarily selected for sacrifice to the sun deity at Cuzco, since the sun was thought to have given victory to the Inca's army.³⁶ The local *huaca* similarly was transported to the Cuzco pantheon, where it occupied a position subordinate to that of the solar deity.³⁷

The enforcement of solar worship carried a variety of other political implications. One was the veneration accorded to the Inca himself, as a person of solar descent. The preservation of this reverential attitude was of importance both for the unification of the empire and for the maintenance of the caste system. While the Inca lived, he was adored and reverently addressed as *intip churi*, son of the sun.³⁸ After his death, rituals of veneration were still observed. Mummification of the Incas' bodies and a daily ceremonial parade of mummified rulers in the central square at Cuzco served as unifying institutions of a high order. By means of embalming, a dynastic apotheosis was accomplished through which each Inca ruler became, like the ancestral sun, an object of eternal worship. Servants with food and drink attended

³²Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 253; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 293 ff.; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 129; Castro, "Relacion y declaracion . . . de Chinchá," 246.

³³See the description of the coronation of Inca Yupanqui; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 96-97; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 112 ff.

³⁴Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 12.

³⁵Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 98.

³⁶Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 59.

³⁷Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 218. For sun worship in general see Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 31 ff.; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 93 ff.; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 155; Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, XIV, 66 ff.; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 143; Juan de San Pedro, "Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru hecha por los primeros religiosos agustinos que alli pasaron para la conversion de los naturales," in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias* (III, Madrid, 1865), 40-41; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 215 ff.

³⁸Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 62.

the figures in the pantheon and in the parade. Embalming was skilfully performed; the Spaniards were amazed at the lifelike appearance of bodies alleged to be those of former rulers.³⁹

The Incas' whole political philosophy, in fact, minimized processes of change. Some aspects of this conservative attitude have been noted in different connections. The ascription of late Inca institutions to Manco Capac, for example, and the putative preservation of symmetrical rituals after the empire had outgrown its symmetry, betray a sense of conservation and timelessness that was characteristic of the Inca point of view. The succession of Inca rulers was conceived as an extreme genetic unity. Numerous violations of primogenital succession never destroyed the tradition of dynastic purity. The past was deliberately falsified for the sake of apparent unity and permanence.

The future, likewise, was incorporated into the sphere of permanent unity. Every effort was made to render future events impervious to change. The Incas' control over provisions and equipment in the *tambos*, and their regulation of the wood supply in sparsely forested areas reveal their highly developed sense of conservation.⁴⁰ A most striking instance of this attitude occurs in the analysis of age groups contained in census and taxation reports, where an unusually strong emphasis was placed upon the young. The Incas divided subordinate peoples into twelve categories depending upon age: the first consisted of persons over sixty; the second of persons between fifty and sixty; the third of persons between twenty-five and fifty. The remaining nine consisted of persons under twenty-five, and five of these nine included only those persons under four years of age.⁴¹ In the

³⁹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 91 ff., 112 ff.; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 21 ff.; Toledo, "Informacion de las idolatrias de los Incas," 139, 166; Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 193 ff.; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 30; Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, 226; Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 419-420; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 427; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 96 ff.; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 238; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 88 ff., 96 ff.; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 131-132, 191; Anonymus, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 70; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 256.

⁴⁰Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 253-254. Polo describes the hunting regulations: "Relacion de los fundamentos," 54-55. Baudin suggests the economic basis of these practices: *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 146 ff.

⁴¹Castro, "Relacion y declaracion . . . de Chinchá," 238; Anonymus, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 61-62. The two authorities differ slightly in details. See also the account of Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 193 ff.

determination of the census and taxation figures, apparently, far greater significance was attached to the future than to the present.

Many of the unifying institutions of the Inca government were later attributed to the legislation of Pachacutec, who was said to have consolidated the hierarchical government in both its administrative and its military aspects.⁴² The road system, the census, and the methods of tribute were all believed to be his creations.⁴³ Las Casas called him "Rey que volvió ó transtornó aquel mundo."⁴⁴ Pachacutec's true rôle in the development of Inca institutions, nevertheless, is problematic. It is impossible to determine with certainty the real origin of the centralizing practices of Inca imperial life. Their highly organized and unified character certainly suggests some common origin, perhaps in the mind of a single individual. But the modern historian's perception is constantly obscured, as has been said, by unsolved problems of bibliographical interpretation. Pachacutec, like Manco Capac, may simply have been the vehicle for an otherwise unexplained genesis of basic institutions. In the present treatment of the Inca administrative system, it is important, once again, to remember the Europeanization of all extant sources.

The basic Inca system of administrative control, whether or not instituted by Pachacutec, was the division of peoples into decimal groups. The function and application of this system have never been completely understood. Probably the figures were only approximate. The extent to which they modified the original *ayllu* configurations is far from clear. Markham's solution, identifying the *ayllu* with a decimal unit of families, is almost certainly an oversimplification.⁴⁵ Cunow's belief that the system was essentially the result of military needs and that the *ayllu* became a group whose military strength was one hundred, finds little confirmation in the authorities.⁴⁶ Means' identification of the *ayllu* with the *pachaca*, or hundred group, is equally unwarranted.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly the Incas' system, whatever it may have been, was still imperfectly developed at the time of the Spanish conquest, and

⁴²Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 188-190; Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, XV, 22 ff.; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 320 ff.

⁴³Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 321; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 161, 196.

⁴⁴Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 214. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara attributed many of these institutions to Tupac Inca Yupanqui: *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 435 ff.

⁴⁵Clements R. Markham, "The Inca Civilization in Peru," in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston and New York, 1884-1889), I, 251.

⁴⁶Cunow, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches*, 76 ff.

⁴⁷Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 292.

the variety of reporting may be partly the reflection of a transitional stage of its development.⁴⁸

There is evidence, however, that the Incas had begun to collect peoples into communities, a practice that the Spaniards later continued or readopted. Polo de Ondegardo, *oidor* of the *Audiencia* of Los Reyes and one of the most reliable of the Toledan historians, wrote in this connection:

As soon as the Yncas had made themselves lords of a province, they caused the natives, who had previously been widely scattered, to live in communities, with an officer over every ten, another over every hundred, another over every thousand, another over every ten thousand, and an Ynca governor over all.⁴⁹

The hierarchy of officials that Polo mentions culminated in each quarter in the *Apo*, or governor of one of the four imperial areas. The four *Apos* have been identified as a council, although possibly no one of them had official jurisdiction outside his own quarter.⁵⁰ The decimal groupings and the hierarchy governing them were essential devices for control. They simplified the processes of census-taking, labor, resettlement, and military draft, all of which were organized from Cuzco. Census-taking was accomplished by special accountants skilled in the use of the *quipu*, who convoked all the lords and common people of a given area in their decimal orders. *Quipu* statistics⁵¹ recorded births and deaths, as well as changes in age categories, group populations, flocks, and yields of crops.⁵² It is stated that new groups under new leaders were formed if population movements warranted such changes.⁵³ When conditions were appropriate, furthermore, whole

⁴⁸Means gives a bibliography for the *ayllu*: "A Study of Ancient Andean Social Institutions," 430-431.

⁴⁹Polo de Ondegardo, "Of the Lineage of the Yncas, and how they Extended their Conquests," in Clements R. Markham (trans. and ed.), *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas* (London, 1873), 155. For the decimal system see Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 143 ff.; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 154 ff.; Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chíncha," 240; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relación de los fundamentos," 16; Morúa, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 125 ff.

⁵⁰The council is studied in Cunow, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches*, 73 ff.; see also Morúa, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 121, 131, 145.

⁵¹For the *quipu* and its use, see Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 33 ff.; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 23, 45; Locke, *The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record*; Nordenskiöld, *The Secret of the Peruvian Quipus*.

⁵²Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 57 ff. This was said to have originated under Inca Yupanqui; *ibid.*, 71; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 151 ff.; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relación de los fundamentos," 16; Polo de Ondegardo, "Of the Lineage of the Yncas," 155.

⁵³Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chíncha," 241.

masses of the population were shifted to areas of similar climate.⁵⁴ The census figures were apparently delivered successively to officers higher in the administrative scale until they reached the *Apo*. The four *Apos* reported the final tabulations to the Inca in Cuzco at or before the festival of *Raymi*.⁵⁵

Public works occupied the time and energies of subject peoples in various ways. Tribute was exacted in agricultural, military, and other labor. The great buildings, roads, and irrigation systems were constructed by masses of organized draft laborers.⁵⁶ Workers in these tasks were always aware of the centralizing figure of the Inca. The roads and buildings existed for the Inca or the Inca institutions exclusively, and the wars were conducted in his interest. He or his chosen heir led the army in person.⁵⁷ It is said that the Inca even assigned useless work, when no essential tasks remained. His subjects therefore found themselves occasionally engaged in the construction of unnecessary roads, or needlessly diverting the courses of rivers, for no other purpose, apparently, than that of impressing upon them the obligation of obedience.⁵⁸

Agriculture, like other forms of labor, became infused with the Inca idea and with the worship of the sun. According to Cobo, the Indians enjoyed agricultural work with an ecstatic fervor, and, while engaged in agricultural activities, they continually sang the praises of the Inca. Of the three types of arable land—that of the Inca, that of the sun, and that of the community—the Indians were said to derive most pleasure from the work on Inca land.⁵⁹ All produce was so distributed that need was unknown.⁶⁰

⁵⁴Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 67 ff.; Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 411; San Pedro, "Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru," 31.

⁵⁵Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 179–180, 184 ff.; Polo de Ondegardo, "Of the Lineage of the Yncas," 155. A good account of the actual operation of this hierarchy is contained in Anonymous, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 60–61. In the official relation of Guamanga it is stated that the census and report were made every two or three years: *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 100.

⁵⁶Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 30 ff.; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 66 ff., 75 ff., 82, 91 ff.

⁵⁷Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 287 ff. This writer states that after the time of Pachacutec merchants also were allowed to travel throughout the empire: *ibid.*, 329.

⁵⁸Toledo, "Informacion de los idolatrias de los Incas," 143, 157.

⁵⁹Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, IV, 186 ff.; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 17 ff. The order in which these lands were worked might prove to be significant, were it not that contrary evidence precludes definite judgment; see Baudin, *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 96.

⁶⁰Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 101 ff.

Agriculture, furthermore, was given a sacred and imperial meaning by the direct ceremonial participation of the Sapa Inca in tilling the fields. His subjects were expected to continue the labor in enthusiastic imitation.⁶¹

⁶¹Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 58; Javier Prado, *Estado social del Peru durante la dominación española* (Lima, 1941), 62 ff.

CHAPTER IV

Incas and Subject Peoples

In spite of the apparently strong bonds of unity outlined in the preceding chapter, we may appropriately interpret the Inca state as a duality, in which the dominant "Inca" culture and the subordinate "Incaic" culture were juxtaposed. Of all the imperial divisions, this was the most profound. The disparity between upper and lower classes persisted as an essential feature of imperial existence, and the Inca class maintained and exploited it in every aspect of the imperial administration. In this duality, the multiple stratifications of a caste system, necessary for practical administration, were minimized. The Inca group, at the upper levels of the decimal gradations, deliberately separated itself from lower social levels.¹

Culturally, the two groups shared a common foundation. The patterns of religious and material life were akin, or even identical. The Inca culture may conveniently be regarded as simply a reformation or refinement of widespread Andean traits. Even the most characteristic features of this culture—the *quipu*, for example, or the pretension to solar descent—were not exclusively its own. Nevertheless, the Inca class, from the earliest stages of its imperial development, established itself as a unique and venerated group, differing from others in ways calculated to attract attention. By imposing an attitude of reverence upon subject peoples, this class made itself the greatest of all unifying institutions. But, in so doing, the Incas consciously created an enormous rift between themselves and their subjects, conceiving a society of two distinct classes, and achieving this society in ways that require particular attention.

Primarily the ruling class maintained its aloofness through emphasis upon the genetic and spiritual solar relationship. Subject peoples, except perhaps those who became Incas by "privilege," were assumed to be of wholly different origin.² Each member of the class of *orejones* claimed solar descent through one of the

¹Charles W. Mead finds agreement among historians that the Inca was of a different physical type from the common people: *Old Civilizations of Inca Land* (New York, 1942), 20.

²This may be assumed from the Incas' emphasis upon their own origin. There seems to have been no tendency to suppress origination myths of subject peoples. In his famous *Origen*, García criticized Betáncos for generalizing the Inca origination myth to include all Peruvian Indians: *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo*, 333.

succession of Inca rulers. Each Sopa Inca was, either in fact or in legend, the patriarch of an Inca *ayllu*. Manco Capac, from whom the Inca class traced its descent, was apotheosized as the creature of the sun.³

The *ayllus* of the Inca class and the assumptions of their celestial origin present difficult historical problems. In the Inca empire, two tasks seem to have been faced from the outset: that of preserving myths of origin acceptable to the common people, despite the almost certain incredulity of the Inca class itself; and that of transforming this Inca class, which itself consisted of the usual *ayllus* and social strata, into a governing body for the whole political state. It is impossible, to be sure, to explain completely the early history of the Incas. No one may hope to do more than to arrange available fragments in a credible historical pattern. The problems that the early Inca peoples faced are, as they appear to modern historians, *post rem*. No more may be said for any method of analyzing this early history than that it seems consistent with what is known of the later stages of the empire.

The dual analysis of the Inca genesis myth, familiar to Father Cabello Balboa, Garcilasso de la Vega, and others in the sixteenth century and accepted by modern students,⁴ involves a private and a public version of Inca origins, well adapted to the purposes of a distinct upper class. The official, censored version presumably is that which was recorded in song and legend and repeated at public ceremonies.⁵ The other, involving a recognition of fraud practiced upon the people, is presumably that which the Inca class believed.

In the public legend, the origin of the Inca class is treated as a supernatural event. According to this, the first Incas were four brothers and four sisters, who emerged from certain windows, or caves, in a hillside and who led their followers toward the site of Cuzco. To one of the four brothers, Manco Capac, was born a son, named Sinchi Roca. Various adventures eliminated three of the brothers, leaving Manco Capac and the four sisters to found Cuzco, at a site fixed by the sun. He and his sisters seized the

³Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 130-131; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 422.

⁴Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 253 ff., 258 ff.; Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 12 ff.; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 128 ff. Garcilasso recognized three versions, but classified them according to the rank of those who accepted them: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 65 ff.; Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 206-221.

⁵The subject is discussed by Rowe, "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area," 267 ff.

designated area, expelled the earlier inhabitants, and began the foundation of the city.⁶

The second group of legends, the "Shining Mantle" group, offers a contrastingly naturalistic origin. According to this, the mother of Sinchi Roca was Mama Siuyacu, a name translated, perhaps significantly, as "The Gradually Widening Ring."⁷ She concealed her son in a cave and dressed him in a "shining mantle" designed to reflect the sun's rays. She instructed him to appear to the people at an appropriate moment and to announce himself as son of the sun. The credulous onlookers, not understanding the trick, accepted his solar ancestry and revered him as the founder of the dynasty.⁸

A similar dual character may be ascribed, provisionally, to the later history of the Inca class and to its system of *ayllu* lineages. In this history, however, all legend is of the unrealistic type. There is no equivalent of the "Shining Mantle" version. The explanation is probably twofold: on the one hand, it is probable that the ruling class developed gradually, without overt creation in a single memorable act, comparable to that of Mama Siuyacu and Sinchi Roca. On the other hand, a substitute for a specific legend relating to the Inca class may have been found in the tradition that all Incas were descended from Manco Capac.

In spite of the absence of suggestively realistic legend, however, it seems incontrovertible that the Inca class developed from a social system of *ayllus*. By a close study of *ayllu* terms, Max Uhle distinguished two main *ayllu* types, roughly equivalent to "tribes" and "lineages": those existing in Cuzco from an early date, and those derived from the Mascaras, one of the later migrating peoples. The second type may be dated approximately from the time of Inca Roca, on the assumption that this Inca represents the real founder of the dynasty and that his predecessors

⁶Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 13 ff.; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 1 ff.; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 121 ff.; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 7 ff.; Betáncos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 10 ff.; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 253 ff.; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 7. Santa Cruz Pachacuti, himself of noble Inca descent, gives an especially elaborate version of the origin, with arboreal symbolism: "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 77. Two variant versions of Garcilasso belong still in this cycle of origination myths: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 61 ff.

⁷Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 209.

⁸Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 258 ff.; Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru*, 68 ff.; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 10 ff. Means gives a full account of the various forms of the story: *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 209 ff.

were only *Sinchis*.⁹ The question of the Cuzco *ayllus*, like that of the *ayllus* in general, is far from settled. Uhle recognized many *ayllus* whose derivation is unexplained.¹⁰ One may adopt provisionally the conclusion that the Cuzco *ayllus* derived from several sources and that, beginning with Inca Roca, descent became established through a ruling Inca. The extension of this latter type of *ayllu* into the past, by the assignment of extant tribal *ayllus* to previous "founders," may have been the work of Pachacutec.¹¹ Garcilasso, like other Inca traditionalists, believed that the Inca *ayllus* were true lineages, and that all Incas were descended from separate Inca rulers as well as from Manco Capac.¹²

The *orejones* properly were members of the Inca class. Yet there is no adequate method for defining the term "Inca," as here employed, except with reference to the class of *orejones*. Practical considerations seem to have permitted a high degree of flexibility in the recognition of this ruling class. Especially in the later period of Inca history the class was faced with the necessity of adapting itself to an expanding empire. After the imperial procedure became well established, furthermore, the Incas assimilated leaders of newly-won areas into the hierarchy of rulers and trained their sons in the school at Cuzco.¹³ Even this practice was seemingly insufficient for the many administrative requirements of the Inca empire, and Quechua-speaking groups were accordingly elevated *en masse* to the position of Incas by "privilege."¹⁴ The extent to which these various incorporations modified the tradition of blood relationship between Sopa Inca and *orejones* is not known. At any rate, the pattern of an ideal tradition existing side by side with a practically adaptable system seems clearly to have been maintained in the hierarchy as in other departments of imperial life.

Convinced as the historian may be of the dominance of these upper-class levels in the Inca empire, he is nevertheless unable to distinguish precisely between noble and commoner, or to draw up trustworthy statistics indicating their relative numbers. On the one hand, he may consider all officers from the centurion to the Inca to have been "nobles," inasmuch as these, reportedly,

⁹Uhle, "Los orígenes de los Incas," 341 ff. The subject is treated in an excellent modern study, Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, *Los orígenes del Cuzco* (reprinted from *Anales de la Universidad Central*, LII, LIII, Quito, 1934).

¹⁰Uhle, "Los orígenes de los Incas," 343.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 330 ff.

¹²Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 243. See also Morúa, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 31 ff.

¹³Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 41.

¹⁴Rowe gives a list of known tribes, noting those indicated as Inca by "privilege": "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," 186 ff.

occupied hereditary positions.¹⁵ On the other hand, these officers, at least in their lower strata, composed what is termed the "*curaca* class," distinct from the Inca class. The Inca class, in the strict sense, consisted of a "blood" group¹⁶ (relatives of the Inca) and a "privilege" group,¹⁷ and at least some of its members were not implicated in the hierarchical governmental system. A precise designation of these groups, with present knowledge, is impossible.

Some suggestion, however, of the disparity in numbers between ruling and subject peoples may be gained from arithmetical calculations based on a knowledge of the administrative hierarchy. The *Apo*, for example, is known to have been a ruler of roughly 10,000. Under him were rulers of groups of 5,000, 1,000, 500, and 100, a total hereditary administrative staff of 133 for 10,000 subjects, or a ratio of approximately 1 to 75. If, as in Father Cobo's statement,¹⁸ the centurion and lower ranks are to be regarded as commoners (*pecheros*), the nobility becomes numerically calculable at 33 per 10,000 population, a ratio of 1 to 303. The hierarchy, however, appears to have been composed of both *orejones* and the "*curaca* class"; the members of the Inca class who existed apart from the governing hierarchy are not numerable with present knowledge. And at the other end of the scale, two non-hereditary officers, chieftains of the groups of fifty and one hundred, may perhaps be considered among the noble class. The ratio is enormously increased, moreover, if the number of the subject group be interpreted, as it often is, in terms of soldiers, taxpayers, families, or other multiple or representative units.

The great disparity between Inca and subordinate Incaic peoples may be best considered in relation to the imperial development. The hierarchy found by the Spaniards at the time of the conquest was more than a manufactured device for control over a large area. It was the crystallization of innumerable specific historical phenomena. Its existence depended upon the progressive subjugation of numerous non-Inca peoples, whose leaders were constantly being absorbed and schooled in the Inca idea and whose commoners continued in their own customs with but a minimum of change. The Incas exploited the class stratification of subject peoples to ensure centralization at one level and comparative non-

¹⁵Rowe gives many references for this and for the whole hierarchy: *ibid.*, 263.

¹⁶The name is to be applied to the Sopa Inca and to his male relatives: Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 95; Betáncos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, 73.

¹⁷Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 243; Baudin, *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 70-71.

¹⁸Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 244.

interference at the other and to maintain a constant division between the two.

It may be noted, incidentally, that the balance of these two policies, *i.e.*, deliberate assimilation of leaders and noninterference in local customs, has induced a great variety of modern comment. Utopian, socialistic, and other interests are easily served by the various interpretations of the Inca state.¹⁹ Many modern scholars stress decentralization far more than may be justified by the literary sources. They reach the conclusion that the empire created only a fictitious bond among the separate Inca *ayllus*.²⁰ It is true probably that the *ayllus* were already in existence at the time of the earliest Inca imperial movements. It is likely too that they antedate the Chimú and other coastal empires. But the theory of a decentralized Inca imperial structure fails to account for the assimilation of local leaders into the decimal hierarchy as a means of centralization.²¹ Recently the very existence of a decimal system in Peru has been called into question.²²

The more conservative interpretation, that the hierarchy was a formalized and graded society of conquered leaders, is supported by researches into the development of the Inca imperial system. Many of the chroniclers employed the term *behetrías* in treating of pre-Inca peoples, thereby implying a chaos of leaderless societies that were later to be ruled by an external Inca hegemony.²³ A careful examination, however, has shown many incipient imperial traits in pre-Inca social life: leaders, administrative hierarchies, devices of centralization, dynasties, and lesser empires were all characteristically pre-Inca.²⁴ The conclusion is

¹⁹Baudin treats this subject, mentioning Lorente, Martens, and Reclus as supporters of the theory of Inca socialism: *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, v ff.

²⁰See the discussion of this literature in Luis Eduardo Valcárcel, *Historia de la cultura antigua del Perú* (I, Lima, 1943), 126 ff.; Ricardo A. Latham, "El dominio de la tierra y el sistema tributario en el antiguo imperio de los Incas," *Revista chilena de historia y geografía*, LII (1927), 202 ff.

²¹Valcárcel, *Historia de la cultura antigua del Perú*, 139.

²²Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period*, 277.

²³Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 407; Acoſta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 198 ff.; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 94 ff.; Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 186; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 6; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 250-251; Polo de Ondegardo, "Informe del Licenciado Juan Polo de Ondegardo al Licenciado Briviesca de Muñatones sobre la perpetuidad de las encomiendas en el Perú," *Revista histórica* (Lima), XIII (1940), 138.

²⁴Castro, "Relaçion y declaraçion . . . de Chincha," 236; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 107; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 84; Means, "A Study of Ancient Andean Social Institutions," 411 ff.; Cunow, *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches*, 80.

inescapable that this empire was unique in Andean society only in degree. Social stratification, which reached its most developed stage in its Inca form, was already implicit in the character of general Andean society.

The methods by which the Incas exploited and maintained such stratification were striking and far-reaching. The provision that subject peoples were not to suffer unnecessary change as a result of Inca conquest placed the burden of distinction upon the leader class. Garcilasso de la Vega emphasized the undisturbed transition from independence to Inca control:

. . . excepting a few alterations that were necessary for the welfare of the whole empire, all the other laws and customs of the conquered provinces were retained without any change. The estates and patrimonies of the conquered were ordered by the Yncas to be restored to their old possessors without any diminution . . . and in a short time the conquered tribes settled down peacefully, and sent their men to the army as if they had been old soldiers of the Ynca, and his most faithful subjects from ancient times.²⁵

Many of those Inca institutions that extended to the level of popular life did not, in fact, displace local institutions. The two cultures were able to exist in apparent harmony, side by side. The juxtaposition of sun, Inca, and common lands, for example, has been noted. It is stated, in addition, that the Inca lands were formed through improvement of areas previously unworked. According to Garcilasso, the Incas created, by terracing and irrigation, new arable land for the sphere of Inca operation, allowing original areas to continue as common usufruct, or for common benefit.²⁶ This policy harmonized with the great Inca pattern, through which the enforcement of sun worship did not normally imply the prohibition of regional cults,²⁷ and through which local languages continued to exist undisturbed by the *lengua general*.²⁸

²⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 37.

²⁶Baudin discusses this question: *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 99. The Inca lands were probably different from the *chacarac*, or personal lands of the Inca, which were, according to Las Casas, the best agricultural areas: *Coleccion de Obras*, II, 187. The question is problematic.

²⁷Castro, "Relaçion y declaraçion . . . de Chinchay," 246; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 49. This general conclusion is, however, contradicted by some notable exceptions: Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 22; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 294 ff.

²⁸For the spread of the *lengua general*, see Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 49, 72, 76-77; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 215; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 73; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 180 ff.; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 114-115, 146. Blas Valera's chapter on the *lengua general* may be found in Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 219. Uhle has studied the subject: "Los orígenes de los Incas," 305 ff.

In the 1550's, a group of *curacas* related how the Incas had taken over one of the valleys of the coast. Their specific account reveals, far more than the generalizations of Garcilasso, the practical Inca scheme for annexing local groups through preservation of their institutional life. These *curacas* said that the Inca came to their valley with many people and announced himself as the son of the sun. At first he asked nothing. He provided the inhabitants with those products that they lacked, and they received him as their lord. Later the valley was divided, like Cuzco itself, into an upper and a lower portion. The Indians were placed in decimal groups, each with its leader. The Sopa Inca ordered the building of royal roads and of a house for himself. The *tambos*, the houses of chosen women, and the other upper-class Inca institutions were introduced. The total impression, again, was one of peace and gradual change, without destruction of the essential features of common life.²⁹

The members of the Inca class, although interested in the preservation of this common life, carefully avoided their own identification with it. They maintained a separate speech for themselves, probably a dialect of Quechua,³⁰ and prohibited the use of this speech by non-Inca peoples.³¹ They wore distinctive clothing and insignia. Their education and upbringing were accomplished in a special school in Cuzco,³² and Inca Roca, the reputed founder of this school, is said to have decried the suggestion of education for commoners, in the belief that such education would endanger the state.³³ The privilege of incest, permitted to the nobles,³⁴ was denied to others under punishments that included death.³⁵ Crimes considered to be violations of the Sopa Inca's or of the sun's

²⁹Castro, "Relaçion y declaraçion . . . de Chinchá," 237 ff.

³⁰The existence of this distinctive language has been questioned. The subject is discussed in Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 221.

³¹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 215-216; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 18.

³²According to Las Casas, who cannot be said to speak with authority on this matter, all lords were required to send their sons to this school at the age of fifteen. The youths learned imperial policy, government, Quechua, and, above all, obedience to the Inca: *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 179. See also Morúa, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 123.

³³Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 336.

³⁴The nobles may have been allowed to marry the uterine but not the consanguine sister: Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 67.

³⁵Valera, "De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú," 203; Torquemada, *Monarchia indiana*, II, 397; Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 112; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 151-152; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 82; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 167. Baudin has emphasized a distinction between types of marriages: *L'empire socialiste des Inka*, 51 ff.

authority, the greatest of which involved contact with the Inca's women or with the sun virgins, and carelessness in tribute collections, received the most severe punishments.³⁶ The Inca class itself, meanwhile, was considered totally incapable of criminal behavior.³⁷ Prohibitions enforced upon the lower class extended to private use of the roads,³⁸ consumption of coca,³⁹ and utterance of the name of the sun.⁴⁰

By a number of distinctive ceremonies and devices, furthermore, the Sopa Inca constantly emphasized his superior position. The question of his actual power has nevertheless been subjected to the most contradictory interpretations. The traditional view, that he wielded enormous and extraordinary authority, is stated by the Americanist, Walter Krickeberg:

Der Herrscher [Inca] ist die fleischgewordene, auf Erden wandelnde Gottheit; alles, was er berührt, wird "Tabu." Seine Macht ist unbegrenzt und uneingeschränkt; alles in seinem Reiche, jede Frucht auf dem Felde, jedes Erzeugnis des Gewerbfleisses und auch jedes Individuum gehört ihm.⁴¹

Followers of Lewis Henry Morgan, on the other hand, have understood the Inca as a "typical" American war chief, elected by a council to an executive position in order to carry out a conciliar will. According to this view, the Inca possessed virtually no initiative.⁴² Morgan's own failure to examine the Inca state is, however, most suggestive.

The determination of the question depends in part on an interpretation of "power." It is certain that an impression of author-

³⁶Castro, "Relación y declaración . . . de Chincha," 240 ff.; Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 30; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 150 ff.; Torquemada, *Monarchia indiana*, II, 397 ff. Valera's list of laws and punishments has a markedly Hispanic tone: "De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú," 198 ff.

³⁷Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 154 ff.

³⁸The roads were of course used by the armies: Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 40; Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 411; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 130.

³⁹Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 270; Toledo, "Informacion de las idolatrias de los Incas," 135, 145 ff., 197-198.

⁴⁰This amounted to blasphemy; the offender was stoned: Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 64; Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 35.

⁴¹Walter Krickeberg, "Amerika," in Georg Buschan (ed.), *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1922-1926), I, 384. Means states that no European or Asiatic monarch has ever been more absolute than the Inca: *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 305.

⁴²Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (Philadelphia, 1901), 211.

ity was fostered by the same kind of distinctive habit and costume that has been noted, to a lesser degree, in the case of the *orejones*. The significance of specific royal devices, such as the *borla* and the scepter, may be deduced from Huascar's desperate attempts to recover them from Atahualpa, after the death of Huayna Capac.⁴³ Symbols of royalty included a variety of specific items: the *indi* bird,⁴⁴ the red *borla*,⁴⁵ the gold or feathered staff,⁴⁶ the snake motif,⁴⁷ the *napa*, or sacred white llama,⁴⁸ the *llautu*, or plait,⁴⁹ the pierced and elongated ears,⁵⁰ the rainbow,⁵¹ and many others.⁵² All were of traditional and ancient origin.⁵³ Many were graded in values that reflected the hierarchy of authority. The *yauri*, or

⁴³Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 172. Garcilasso, on the other hand, states that Atahualpa did not take the *borla* until after Huascar's imprisonment: *Historia general del Peru* (2 vols., Córdova, 1609-1617), II, 28.

⁴⁴Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 48, 61.

⁴⁵Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 286; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 294; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 176; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 96; Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 48; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 248-249.

⁴⁶Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 74; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 286-287.

⁴⁷San Pedro, "Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru," 39; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 287; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 11.

⁴⁸Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 49.

⁴⁹Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 248-249; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 19; Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 48; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 84-85.

⁵⁰Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 85; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 260; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 554 ff. This trait appears to have been widely spread. It was noticed by early travelers on the upper Paraguay River, and Charlevoix states that Cabeza de Vaca found an "Ile de Orejones" in the northern Chaco in 1543. These communities, discovered after the conquest of Peru, may, on the other hand, represent groups of refugee Incas escaping from the Spanish armies. See Pero Hernández, "The Commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca," in Luis L. Domínguez (ed.), *The Conquest of the River Plate (1535-1555)*—(London, 1891), 200-201; Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay* (6 vols., Paris, 1757), I, 135-136.

⁵¹Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 287; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 11.

⁵²Baltasar de Ocampo lists others in his treatment of events in Vilcabamba after the death of Titu Cusi: "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa and a Narrative of the Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru," in Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 215 ff.

⁵³Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 260, 279; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 60, 125 ff.; Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 105 ff.; Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 6.

scepter, used by the Inca class, for example, was of copper or silver, while that of the Sopa Inca was of gold.⁵⁴ Various colors of the *borla* and the position in which it was worn distinguished the ruling Inca, the heir apparent, and the noble class. The nobility wore the fringe at one side of the head; the Sopa Inca wore it in the center.⁵⁵

Through symbols, furthermore, the ruler maintained contact with the past in ways that served to distinguish and dignify his line. Two feathers that he wore were thought to be unique; only two specimens of that variety of bird had ever appeared on earth.⁵⁶ The original *borla* was thought to have descended from Manco Capac, and thus to connect each ruler with the founder of the dynasty.⁵⁷ Again, the Inca owned the palaces of his ancestors, but each ruler erected new palaces, by means of which his name was preserved,⁵⁸ just as a particular *ayllu* preserved his family and cult, and just as particular servants preserved his corpse in a condition approximating that of life.⁵⁹

The distinctive habits of the Sopa Inca in his daily existence are well known. The luxuries of his table service have been often described. The articles used or touched by the son of the sun were burned, never to be used again.⁶⁰ The ceremony of corona-

⁵⁴Juan Larrea, "El yauri, insignia incaica," *Revista del Museo Nacional*, X (1941), 37.

⁵⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 85; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 176; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 20; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 294; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 176; Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 48. Certain types of the *llautu*, in addition, were worn by the commoners, to distinguish tribes, and by the *auqui*, or noble youth: Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 2; Betánczos, *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 96.

⁵⁶Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 178-179.

⁵⁷Cf. Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 65. Cieza de León suggested that the same *borla* was passed from one Inca to his successor: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 20, 138. The mummified Inca bodies probably wore the *llautu* but not the *borla*: Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León*, 226; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 103; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 180.

⁵⁸Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 252; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 289 ff.

⁵⁹It is interesting to observe that the *post-mortem* ceremonies of Viracocha were less elaborate because he had deserted the city in its period of danger: Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 146; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 71.

⁶⁰Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 288; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 250-251. There was no inheritance of treasure from one ruler to his successor: Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 175; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 131-132.

tion was attended with solar ritual and sacrifice in his honor.⁶¹ Even the greatest lords entered the Inca's presence with bared feet and with a token burden as a sign of submission.⁶² In traveling through the realm, furthermore, the Inca proceeded on a golden litter, attended by a large retinue. The path was cleansed before him.⁶³ The people who watched him pass, believing him a divine descendant of the sun,⁶⁴ repeated the customary greeting: "*Ancha hatun apu intip churi, canqui zapalla apu tucuy pacha ccampa uyay sullull* [Most high lord, son of the sun, you are the sole and beloved lord. The whole earth truly obeys you]."⁶⁵

The tradition of Inca conformity and virtue—contradicted, as has been noted in the preceding chapters, by the particular details of Inca history—was deliberately created and preserved by the *amautas*, or official historians. The *amautas* convened after the Inca's death and decided upon those of his deeds that were worthy of remembrance and upon those that should be ignored.⁶⁶ It was said that an entire reign might be thus forgotten, if the ruling Inca had performed no memorable act. The reign of Urco, presumably on account of his weakness and his short tenure, was not officially recorded.⁶⁷ It is, therefore, through the uncensored traditions of the nobles themselves that our knowledge of such reigns

⁶¹For the coronation ceremonies see Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 18 ff.; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 284 ff.; Pascual de Andagoya, *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, and of the Discovery of the South Sea and the Coasts of Peru and Nicaragua* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., London, 1865), 49; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 226–227.

⁶²Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 227, 248; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 428 ff.; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 38; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 177 ff.; Andagoya, "Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila," 58.

⁶³Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 288–289; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 61 ff.; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 178.

⁶⁴Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 261. Valera denied that the Indians had regarded the Inca as a god: "De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú," 154 ff. There is evidence, however, that even lesser Incas, in special cases, could become objects of worship after death: San Pedro, "Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru," 32.

⁶⁵Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 62.

⁶⁶See Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 28–29. Baudin has studied this subject: "La formation de l'élite et l'enseignement de l'histoire dans l'empire des Inka," *Revue des études historiques*, XCIII (1927), 111 ff.

⁶⁷Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 138; Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, pp. 70 ff.

as Urco's is derived. It seems undeniable that the system was designed to keep the common people misinformed and to preserve the differences between commoners and nobility. Other mnemonic devices served a similar purpose. Any one of the means through which the Sopa Inca maintained dynastic continuity and identified himself with past and future could, seemingly, be deliberately violated. Thus, Yahuar Huaccac, the weak "father" of Viracocha, failed to receive the traditional funeral ceremonies, and his image, or mummy, was not preserved.⁶⁸

⁶⁸Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 119. Cieza de León, contradicting himself, wrote that Viracocha both was and was not the son of Yahuar Huaccac: *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 120; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 147.

CHAPTER V

Dynastic Succession During the Conquest, 1532-1533

Prior to the conquest of Peru, the Spaniards had taken extensive advantage of Indian leaders in effecting a transition to Spanish control. The conquest of Mexico, in particular, had revealed the strategic advantages of alliance with native factions and retention of native chiefs under the Spanish hegemony. These chiefs became puppet rulers in Spanish hands, useful for maintaining native strife or for achieving native unity under a broader Spanish policy. The practice was, for Spain, transitional and strategic; it permitted small Spanish armies to subdue numerically superior native forces, pending the introduction of permanent colonial government. Its transitional character, however, involved an ethical consideration. Las Casas insisted that the retention of native leadership and political organization should be a permanent policy. He condemned interference in native leadership as a moral crime. As long as an American ruler recognized the sovereignty of the Spanish king, Las Casas maintained, that ruler must be considered, in the fullest sense, *señor natural* of his land and people.¹

The conquest of Peru has been interpreted as an exception to the common Spanish practice. Atahualpa's execution, belying Pizarro's guaranties, has evoked critical judgments that have blinded historians to Pizarro's strategy, complicated as this strategy was by the intrusion of Almagro's army. The execution of Atahualpa is considered the more atrocious since opportunities for subtle diplomacy in balancing native factions are believed to have been fully as great in Peru as in Mexico. Prescott wrote:

When Pizarro landed in the country, he found it distracted by a contest for the crown. It would seem to have been for his interest to play off one party against the other, throwing his own weight into the scale that suited him. Instead of this, he resorted to an act of audacious violence which crushed them both at a blow. His subsequent career afforded no scope for the profound policy displayed by Cortés, when he gathered conflicting nations under his banner, and directed them against a common foe. . . . Cortés conducted his military operations on the scientific principles of a great captain at the head of a powerful host. Pizarro appears only as an adventurer, a fortunate knight-errant. By one bold stroke, he broke the spell which had so long held the land under the dominion of the Incas. . . . This was good fortune, rather than the result of policy.²

¹See Chapter VIII, *infra*.

²Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," 1094.

Almost certainly, as Prescott himself said, Pizarro followed the general example of Cortés until after the capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca.³ Pizarro's opportunities for effecting native alliance must have seemed, at first, superior even to those of Cortés. The invading army of Atahualpa in Peru offered, apparently, an even greater advantage to a foreign conqueror than had the Tlascalan army in Mexico. For Cortés, the native rivalry had appeared in the form of disaffected but peaceful groups. There had been no major civil war of the type that Pizarro found in Peru, where the balance of power allowed the Spaniards to transfer their allegiance a number of times during the course of the conquest.

The situation in Peru, however, presented some significant and less advantageous differences. Pizarro was offered the rôle not only of conqueror but of deliverer and arbitrator. Each of the two rivals claimed the Incaship. Recognition of one necessarily entailed rejection of the other's claims. The more equitable balance of the contending factions in Peru, therefore, placed an additional burden upon the Spaniards. Conquest and the recognition of a puppet Inca were impossible without some decision regarding the "legitimacy" of the two claimants. That this decision would be an arbitrary one, depending upon the exigencies of the military situation, was evident.

A second difference was implied in Pizarro's negotiations with the Huascar faction. If these negotiations had reached the point of alliance against Atahualpa, the native ally would have been entrenched not on the road to the capital, as in Mexico, but in the capital itself, and separated from the Spaniards by the army of the invader. A conquest of Mexico in which the potential ally lay west rather than east of Tenochtitlán is hardly conceivable. Very few ambassadors from Huascar, in fact, were able to reach the army of Pizarro through the formidable barrier of Atahualpa's army.

Pizarro was, therefore, presented with a situation radically different from that faced by Cortés. During the early stages of his ascent to Cajamarca, the issue remained in doubt, and Pizarro held out hope to both factions. With the swift and successful capture of Atahualpa, however, Pizarro could afford to reach a more definite decision. The captivity of Atahualpa proved to be immediately profitable. The Cuzco party was safely ignored, and the Spaniards, in apparent harmony with Atahualpa, lingered in Cajamarca, while Indian bearers gathered treasure. This comfortable, but precarious, situation itself soon changed. The news of Huascar's death, the arrival of Almagro, and the suspicion that Atahualpa was planning a great revolt introduced new elements

³*Ibid.*, 1094-1095.

into Pizarro's plans. He needed a puppet ruler, "legitimate" or "illegitimate," whom he could control and who in turn could control the imperial populations. With the deaths of Atahualpa, Tupac Hualpa, and Challicuchima, the emboldened Cuzco faction made new overtures, and Pizarro reverted to the strategy of alliance with Cuzco against the forces of usurpation and "illegitimacy." As Pizarro progressed toward the capital, furthermore, he entered the area of strongest Cuzco influence. Acclaimed the deliverer of the city and the restorer of the Huascar line, Pizarro was then able to employ Cuzco forces in driving the Quito armies northward.

Pizarro had become aware of the war between Atahualpa and Huascar before he began the march inland to Cajamarca. He had the example of Cortés to guide him.⁴ Himself illiterate, Pizarro left no record of the form in which he received this information, nor of the decisions made as a result of it. His motives, unlike those of Cortés, who skilfully described the Mexican conquest in a series of letters to the king,⁵ must be deduced from his conduct alone.⁶ We know that the Spaniards had been aware of the internal Peruvian warfare from the time of their occupation of Tumbez.⁷ Pizarro's relative and page, Pedro Pizarro, has described how, at Pohechos, news was received of Atahualpa's march against Huascar.⁸ The Spaniards received embassies from Atahualpa during the march and exchanged gifts.⁹ But after passing Tanga-rara,¹⁰ south of Tumbez, Pizarro began to announce to native peoples along the way his intention of favoring and aiding Hua-

⁴Pedro Ruiz Naharro states that Pizarro knew how Cortés had profited from internal Mexican disorders and accordingly rejoiced at the news of civil war in Peru: "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú desde su descubrimiento hasta la muerte del marqués Francisco Pizarro," in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Martín Fernández Navarrete, and others, eds., XXVI, Madrid, 1855), 239.

⁵Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al Emperador Carlos V* (Pascual de Gayangos, ed., Paris, 1866).

⁶The account of Pedro Sancho, the secretary, was, however, read to Pizarro and approved by him: Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 423.

⁷Espinosa to the king, October 21, 1532, in Roberto Levillier (ed.), *Gobernantes del Perú, cartas y papeles siglo XVI* (14 vols., Madrid, 1921-1926), II, 12-13; George Kubler, "The Behavior of Atahualpa, 1531-1533," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXV (1945), 416.

⁸Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 219.

⁹Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 380; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 72; Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," 916-917.

¹⁰Tangarara, on the Rio de la Chira, was the first site of San Miguel, May or June, 1532. Cf. Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 240.

scar.¹¹ There is evidence of direct alliance between Pizarro and representatives or allies of Huascar.¹² It is probable, therefore, that Pizarro altered his affirmations of friendship to suit his audience. At any rate, when the Spaniards heard from Atahualpa that Huascar had been captured and that the whole land had been united under a common lord, Pizarro decided, or pretended to decide, in favor of Atahualpa. He announced that he would assist Atahualpa in suppressing any subject lord who might refuse submission.¹³

It seems clear that this decision marks one major turning point in Spanish strategy. So long as the empire remained divided, Pizarro necessarily watched his opportunities. With the defeat of Huascar, his only recourse lay in overt alliance with Atahualpa. So far as the legitimate succession was concerned, the evidence suggests that Pizarro assumed Huascar to be, in the words of the page, "Señor natural deste reino."¹⁴ But Pizarro's conversion to Atahualpa's side reflects the major rôle assigned to strategy in his thinking, as compared with that assigned to principles of legitimacy. It seems probable that Pizarro always subordinated concepts of legitimacy to plans for the strategic use of "legitimacy" in effecting the conquest. Pizarro, furthermore, had had no opportunity to examine the merits of the case. Spanish interest in legitimate Inca succession had not yet developed beyond the point of military necessity.

After the capture, Pizarro considered killing Atahualpa. His failure to do so immediately may be attributed to several causes. The assemblage of native lords at Cajamarca and their continued reverence for Atahualpa after the capture were indications to Pizarro of his own strong position. He spared no pains to maintain the external forms of Atahualpa's continued sovereignty: the *borla*, the women attendants, the obeisance, and the other rituals associated with the Incaship.¹⁵ There was no need to divide and conquer, when there existed a puppet governor who could command the respect of subject lords and who held the rival governor

¹¹Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 222-223.

¹²Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 241; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 376; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, 1, 72.

¹³Pizarro, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo," 115.

¹⁴Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 223.

¹⁵Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 68; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 183; Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán, *The Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzman* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., London, 1862), 91; Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," 949, 958-959.

in custody. Other considerations likewise persuaded Pizarro temporarily to spare Atahualpa. He did not dare to continue toward Cuzco with his small force, and he therefore wished to prolong the stay in Cajamarca until the arrival of reinforcements.¹⁶ An economic motive also assisted his decision. When Atahualpa learned of some continued negotiations between Pizarro and Huascar's followers, he offered as a bribe a room filled with treasure in exchange, as he thought, for his own liberty and life.¹⁷

Huascar, although in Atahualpa's custody, had been an important figure in Pizarro's transactions with the Incas. Huascar had insisted on the illegality of Atahualpa's treasure-hunting expeditions in Cuzco. Later he predicted that the Spaniards would kill Atahualpa.¹⁸ Two of his captains, brothers of Atahualpa, had entered into negotiations with the Spaniards.¹⁹ Atahualpa, having obtained, as he thought, Spanish sanction for killing Huascar, effected the death of these two brothers, of Huascar's wife, son, mother, women, and chiefs, and of Huascar himself.²⁰ Atahualpa's aim, undoubtedly, was to ensure his own succession by eliminating all possible rivals.²¹ Pizarro continued to disavow any intention of killing Atahualpa. He and Atahualpa dined together, and Pizarro promised to divide the empire at Cajamarca, relinquishing to Atahualpa the northern part.²²

Pizarro's position was, in fact, a difficult one. Although Atahualpa's freedom had been guaranteed upon the full payment of the ransom, the Spaniards were convinced that his release would mean their own extinction.²³ On the other hand, they believed further advance to be impossible so long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner.²⁴ Atahualpa in captivity was obeyed as Inca. He had

¹⁶Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 240-241; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 116.

¹⁷Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 246; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 230.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 231-232.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 232-233.

²⁰Andagoya, "Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila," 51; Pizarro, "Letter to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo," 119; Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 119; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 232; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 434 ff.; Anonymous, *The Conquest of Peru*, 34; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 189; Estete, "Relación de la conquista," 35-36; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 116-117.

²¹Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 434-435.

²²Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 232, 244.

²³*Ibid.*, 245-246.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 241.

disposed his armies, under the generals Challicuchima (at Xauxa) and Quizquiz (at Cuzco) between the Spaniards and their goal.²⁵ He was suspected more and more of intense secret activity and of plotting the death of all Spaniards in a concerted general uprising.²⁶ Either alternative to Atahualpa's execution, therefore, was disadvantageous to Pizarro's party. In addition, a powerful argument was advanced by the recently-arrived forces of Almagro, who favored Atahualpa's death for economic reasons. The treasure that had been brought to Cajamarca at Atahualpa's command belonged almost in its entirety to Pizarro's men. Atahualpa's execution would permit Almagro's followers to participate officially in the conquest, and to share proportionately in the spoil. By overstating their case and by a ruse involving the interpreter, Felipillo, the new arrivals persuaded Pizarro to accede to the execution. In a quick trial, while his chief Spanish sympathizers were absent on other missions, Atahualpa was accused of usurpation, fratricide, idolatry, polygamy, insurrection, and other crimes. He was executed at Cajamarca, August 29, 1533.²⁷

Pizarro's position was only partially clarified by Atahualpa's death. He is said to have regretted the execution, particularly since no evidence came to light of the suspected uprising in Caxas.²⁸ The need for another Inca to control the mass of the population became apparent. But Pizarro required a compromise candidate as a successor to Atahualpa, one who would be accepted by Atahualpa's generals at Cajamarca and who, at the same time, would not arouse violent opposition among the followers of Huascar in Cuzco.²⁹ At Cajamarca, Pizarro made a strategic effort to choose

²⁵*Ibid.*, 232; Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 330; Estete, "Relación de la conquista," 40.

²⁶Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 313 ff.; Estete, "Relación de la conquista," 41-42.

²⁷Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 245 ff.; Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 249 ff.; Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," 967 ff.; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 77-78. Estete, an eyewitness to the conquest, attributes the execution of Atahualpa chiefly to the instance of Almagro—"Al cabo, insiendiendo mucho en su muerto el dicho capitán Almagro, y dando muchas razones porqué debía morir, él fué muerto": "Relación de la conquista," 42. Guaman Poma de Ayala gives a different version, in which the execution was favored by Pizarro and opposed by Almagro: *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 391.

²⁸This was the report of De Soto, one of Atahualpa's chief sympathizers. See Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 247.

²⁹Spanish and native strategies were in partial agreement upon this question. Members of each native faction were anxious to side with the Spaniards against the other faction. See Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Perú*, II, 31.

an Inca acceptable to the court of Atahualpa. He assembled all the lords in the *plaza mayor* and selected Tupac Hualpa from among them. Tupac Hualpa seemed to fit perfectly the projected rôle. He was a son of Huayna Capac, of the Cuzco line.³⁰ He had manifested friendship toward Atahualpa, in order to avoid the fate of Huascar's family,³¹ and he had professed friendship, likewise, to the Spaniards.³² Pizarro recognized Tupac Hualpa as the legitimate ruler of the Cuzco line but, as before, attached less importance to the maintenance of a traditional legitimacy than to the acceptance by the natives of a puppet ruler.³³ Pizarro warned the assembled lords that Atahualpa had been condemned as a traitor and that Tupac Hualpa represented the legitimate line of Cuzco. He announced that this choice should please all parties. The Spaniards, nevertheless, carefully watched the natives' reaction, and Pizarro's secretary later stated that the Spaniards had been prepared to name another Inca if the popular attitude toward Tupac Hualpa had seemed to warrant such a change. The Indians replied, however, that in view of Atahualpa's death, they would accept Tupac Hualpa or any other Inca whom the Spaniards might name.³⁴

Tupac Hualpa agreed that both he and his people would thenceforth serve the Spanish crown as vassals.³⁵ His elaborate coronation ceremony combined the Inca rituals of solar reverence and presentation of the *borla* with gestures of loyalty to the Emperor. Under Pizarro's guidance the traditional ritual was carefully observed.³⁶ At the same time, Pizarro placated discordant elements among his own followers by announcing that future treasure would be distributed proportionately among both groups of Spaniards.³⁷ There is no reason to suppose that in elevating Tupac Hualpa Pizarro hoped to perpetuate the old fraternal conflict of native society. The secretary, Sancho, who wrote candidly of Pizarro's later duplicity at Xauxa, gives us the impression that Pizarro actually hoped to unite the empire under the puppet, Tupac

³⁰Anonymous, *The Conquest of Peru*, 42.

³¹Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 252.

³²Xérez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 106.

³³Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 319.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 318-319.

³⁵Anonymous, *The Conquest of Peru*, 42.

³⁶Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 319 ff.; Xerez, "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru," 106-107.

³⁷Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 252.

Hualpa.³⁸ Strategically, peaceful unity was preferable to division and conflict.

Pizarro's achievement thus far must have appeared extraordinarily successful. In Tupac Hualpa, Pizarro had gained control over a ruler of the legitimate Cuzco line, a brother of Atahualpa, who seemed to be acceptable even to Atahualpa's followers at Cajamarca. Pizarro had broken through the barrier of Atahualpa's army and had crowned a Cuzco Inca. His next step, the triumphant march to Cuzco with the restored ruler, was clear.

Pizarro was unaware, however, of at least three plots to elevate other natives to the Incaship. One was led by Rumiñavi, Atahualpa's general in Quito. Rumiñavi's secret plan, the coronation of Atahualpa's brother, Quilliscacha or Yllescas, encountered practical and legitimist opposition among the Quito nobles. The plan developed through several stages, one of which contemplated the use of Quilliscacha as regent for Atahualpa's eldest son, who was not yet old enough to rule. Rumiñavi settled the differences by making himself tyrant in the northern empire, after massacring Atahualpa's family and court. As a tyrant he was later driven out of Quito by the Spanish captain, Benalcazar.³⁹ A second plot, under Quizquiz, another of Atahualpa's generals, selected Paullo for the Inca. This plot is difficult to understand completely, since it is known that Paullo was of the Cuzco line, that later he was the enemy of Quizquiz, and that still later he was crowned as Inca by Almagro. Paullo seems to have received the *borla* twice, once from Quizquiz and once from Almagro. It is possible that these events involved two individuals of the same name.⁴⁰ The third plot, under Chalicuchima, also one of Atahualpa's generals, requires particular attention, since it resulted in the death of Tupac Hualpa and the abandonment of Pizarro's policy of unification under a compromise Inca.

Chalicuchima accompanied the Pizarro party southward toward Cuzco from Cajamarca, the place where Atahualpa had been killed, and where Tupac Hualpa had been crowned. He was a person of great prestige, and Pizarro gave him freedom and

³⁸Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 318 ff.

³⁹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 36-37; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 484; Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 251; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 96 ff.

⁴⁰Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 31; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 96; Dunbar Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," 307 ff. The original Paullo may have been killed by his own followers for his refusal to capitulate to Pizarro. See Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 251.

authority on the march.⁴¹ Chalicuchima, betraying the trust, conspired against both Tupac Hualpa and the Spaniards.⁴² By exerting his authority among the native populations along the way, he was able to discredit the Inca's reputation. He ordered the Indians to disobey Tupac Hualpa and indicated this disobedience to Pizarro as proof that the Inca was unable to command respect.⁴³ Finally, at Xauxa, the Inca died, apparently of poison, and our authorities do not hesitate to accuse Chalicuchima of the deed.⁴⁴

For the Spaniards, the loss of Tupac Hualpa constituted a very serious reversal. Their sorrow at his death was undoubtedly genuine.⁴⁵ Because Pizarro did not yet connect Chalicuchima with the deed or because the power of this general was too valuable to be lost, the Spaniards did not kill Chalicuchima immediately. Instead, Pizarro convoked a group of chiefs and asked them to choose an Inca. The chiefs, however, were unable to agree between a native of Cuzco and a son of Atahualpa. Pizarro, forced now to recognize the imperial disunity, secretly encouraged both sides.⁴⁶ Realizing that Chalicuchima held the key to a peaceful Inca state, he offered to this general the regency of the whole land, pending the arrival of Atahualpa's son from Quito.⁴⁷ In the manner of Atahualpa, Chalicuchima made protestations of friendship toward the Spaniards and at the same time secretly organized resistance. He followed Atahualpa's example, too, in pretending that the insurgent natives were acting in disobedience to his orders.⁴⁸ At Xaquixaguana, Chalicuchima's treacheries were discovered, and the Spaniards burned him alive in the *plaza* of that town, about four leagues from Cuzco.⁴⁹

The two Quito leaders whom Pizarro had recognized—Atahualpa and Chalicuchima—had now been executed for their hos-

⁴¹Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 252-253.

⁴²Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 328-329.

⁴³Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 252-253.

⁴⁴Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 88; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 252; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 32.

⁴⁵Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 340.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 341-342.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 341-342, 368.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 369.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 370-371; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 261. It is possible that the Spaniards made Chalicuchima captive at some point between Xauxa and Xaquixaguana. See Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 328-329; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 261. Guaman Poma places the execution of Chalicuchima in Xauxa: *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 391.

tility to the Spaniards. The one Cuzco Inca whom Pizarro had recognized had been killed by the men of Quito. At Xaquixaguana, Pizarro faced a situation similar to that which he had faced at Cajamarca after Atahualpa's death. He solved the present problem as he had the former one, by elevating a legitimate Cuzco candidate. Now, however, only four leagues from Cuzco, Pizarro could safely ignore the force of Quito opinion, which theretofore had bulked large in his planning.⁵⁰ It is true that Atahualpa's son had been summoned from Quito, but the contingency that had induced Pizarro to accede to this Incaship had now passed, and with the death of Chalicuchima, the way was clear for a puppet Inca of the local Cuzco line.

The Cuzco party did not long neglect its opportunity. Manco Inca appeared before Pizarro at Xaquixaguana on the morning following the execution of Chalicuchima.⁵¹ Manco had come by a secret route, in order to avoid the armies of Quito. Now, however, he approached Pizarro openly, borne in a litter and wearing the yellow *borla* as an indication of his status.⁵² According to Garcilasso, this move represented a partial conciliation of Cuzco and Quito factions. Atahualpa had sent Quizquiz to Cuzco, and had directed his own brother, Titu Atauchi, in anti-Spanish tactics.⁵³ Garcilasso wrote that it was at the instance of these two partisans of Quito and against the advice of his own captains, that Manco approached Pizarro.⁵⁴ If so, the strategic shifts were remarkably rapid, for we know that theretofore Manco, like the Quito men themselves, had opposed Pizarro's advance and that

⁵⁰Molina of Santiago, who arrived in Peru soon after Pizarro, gives an account of the hostility of the Cuzco natives to Atahualpa and of their willingness to accept the Spaniards as enemies of the Quito faction: "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 155.

⁵¹Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 372 ff.; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 261. Manco's son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, wrote that Manco had joined Pizarro before the Spaniards came to Xaquixaguana, that Chalicuchima had been taken into custody, and that, with Pizarro's permission, Manco ordered Chalicuchima burned alive: Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras de los últimos Incas peruanos contra el poder español* (Barcelona, 1925), 40-41.

⁵²The litter, not of gold but of wood, was a sign of both authority and humility: Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 43; Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Peru," 990. Molina of Santiago states that Manco approached Pizarro as a common Indian: "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 156.

⁵³Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 313, 330.

⁵⁴Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 39, 42-43.

thereafter Manco aided Pizarro against the retreating armies of Quizquiz.⁵⁵

Manco, accompanying Pizarro's army, entered Cuzco in state.⁵⁶ Local unity, at least, seemed to have been achieved with his elevation to the Incaship. From Xaquixaguana to Cuzco the Spanish army had encountered no opposition,⁵⁷ and lords from the surrounding territory quickly assembled at Cuzco for the ceremony of Manco's coronation.⁵⁸ The ceremony was performed in careful obedience to the ancient rituals. Bodies of the former Inca rulers were paraded in the central square of Cuzco in full view of the Spaniards and of the natives.⁵⁹ In the early days of his reign, Manco continued to show favor to the Spaniards, and the Spaniards made special efforts to maintain good will.⁶⁰ Aided by Almagro, Manco succeeded in killing several possible rivals for the *borla*.⁶¹ The immediate area was soon pacified and separated from the dominions of Quito. Manco prevented the Indians from joining the Quito faction, whose leader, Quizquiz, tried in vain to withstand the Spanish armies and to prepare an unobstructed path to Cuzco for Atahualpa's son.⁶²

By the end of 1533, therefore, Spanish victory seemed virtually complete. Manco's rebellion and the 35-year Vilcabamba resistance did not develop until after this date. Manco's rebellion was the result of later provocations by the Spaniards. Its specific origins postdate the initial conquest period. We may properly consider at this point, therefore, the common and contradictory beliefs, first that Pizarro ignored native disagreements in wanton acts of

⁵⁵Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 367, 377 ff.; George Kubler, "A Peruvian Chief of State: Manco Inca (1515-1545)," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIV (1944), 254.

⁵⁶Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 120.

⁵⁷Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 376.

⁵⁸This event took place on November 16, 1533, the day after the Spaniards entered the city: Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 376, 420; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 278; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 17. According to Garcilasso, the coronation occurred in Vilcas: *Historia general del Peru*, II, 55. Santa Cruz Pachacuti places the event in Sacsahuana, and states that Manco entered Cuzco as the crowned Inca: "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," 119-120.

⁵⁹Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 30; Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 265 ff.

⁶⁰Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 422.

⁶¹Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 203-204.

⁶²Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 376-377; Diego de Castro Tito Cussi Yupangui Inca, *Relacion de la conquista del Perú y hechos del Inca Manco II* (Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, 1st series, II, Lima, 1916), 24 ff.

wholesale destruction,⁶³ and secondly that only through taking advantage of native factionalism did Pizarro gain Peru at all.⁶⁴

Pizarro certainly made strategic use of the Huascar-Atahualpa feud. We have seen how, at different times, he supported one side or the other. The fraternal war undoubtedly assisted him in gaining an easy initial foothold.⁶⁵ But it seems evident that, during the months that elapsed between the death of Huascar and the death of Tupac Hualpa, Pizarro hoped to unite the factions and to rule the whole of Peru through a puppet Inca recognized by both sides. The secretary, Sancho, wrote that imperial divisions were essential to the Spaniards "para pasar adelante de Xauxa,"⁶⁶ and Xauxa, it will be remembered, was the site of Tupac Hualpa's death and the place where Pizarro found it necessary to abandon his unification strategy. The two Incas through whom Pizarro tried to unite Peru failed for different reasons, but only after the death of Tupac Hualpa did Pizarro revert to his original strategy and play one faction against the other. The Spanish commander finally won control by the executions of Atahualpa and Chalcucuchima, and by so reducing the Quito strength that Manco found alliance with the Spaniards to be both possible and expedient.

⁶³See the statement of Prescott at the beginning of the present chapter.

⁶⁴Diffie states that Pizarro "made the most" of the civil war: *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period*, 56. Valcárcel cites references for this opinion: "Final de Tawantisuyu," 87, 97.

⁶⁵Pizarro, "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," 237.

⁶⁶Sancho de la Hoz, "Relacion de la conquista del Perú," 420.

CHAPTER VI

The Colonial Government and the Inca Schism

The rebellion of Manco Inca in 1536 and his death about 1545¹ frustrated Spanish hopes of uniting Peru under this "legitimate" heir of the Cuzco line. With Manco's defection, Spanish favor devolved upon the younger brother, Paullo, who had earlier cast his lot with the Almagro faction of the Spaniards. Paullo's biography is confused and variously reported. The date of his birth is nowhere stated with authority. He is represented to us, curiously, as a few days younger than his whole brother, Manco, who was born about 1515.² His maternal parentage and early life are likewise vague.³ It has been noted in the preceding chapter that an individual of this name was implicated in a coronation plot in Quito, following the death of Atahualpa, and that this individual was crowned Inca by the Quito general, Quizquiz. It is reported, furthermore, that Pizarro placed the imperial *borla* on Paullo's head after Atahualpa's death.⁴ Probably these events either are falsely reported or involve a second individual of the same name.⁵

Paullo, however, is important in the present connection for several reasons. As an Inca crowned by Almagro against the pretensions of Manco, he represents one element of the Spanish internal conflict as this conflict was reflected in an Inca schism. Again, as a pacified Inca whose worth was recognized by the Pizarro faction after the death of Almagro, Paullo reveals the manner in which the Spaniards exploited the office of Inca in

¹The date is not certain. See Kubler, "A Peruvian Chief of State," 273.

²Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 29, 148-149; Enríquez de Guzmán, *The Life and Acts of Don Enriquez de Guzman*, 99. Molina of Santiago states in one place that Manco was crowned at about the age of sixteen; in another place he states that Manco was crowned at about the age of eighteen: "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 156, 183.

³Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 92; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 32. Paullo's parentage is discussed in Dunbar Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," 126-127.

⁴This statement is made by Gutiérrez de Santa Clara. He also states that Manco was crowned by the armies of Quito, and that from there Manco retired to the separatist capital: *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 482.

⁵Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 88. Velasco mentions an Inca Paullo of Quito who succeeded Hualpa Capac, the son of Atahualpa, but who was supported by the army only. This army presumably consisted of followers of Quizquiz. Hualpa Capac reigned in Quito during September and October of 1533: *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 75. For an account of the disputed reliability of Velasco, see Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, 145-155.

their efforts to pacify the entire land. Paullo was apparently the last puppet Inca crowned under Spanish rule. His treatment at the hands of the Spaniards reveals, better than any other series of events in the colonial period, the Spanish concept of legitimate transitional Incaship.

Manco's siege of Cuzco began in February or March, 1536. When the rebellion broke out, Paullo was with Almagro's Chilean expedition, possibly at Manco's instigation,⁶ and certainly with Manco's knowledge. At first, Paullo was, or pretended to be, in full sympathy with his brother. Manco and Paullo were in constant communication during Almagro's march. According to one report, Paullo continued to be loyal to his brother after the arrival of the expedition in Chile.⁷ Manco planned that Paullo should foment revolt among the Chilean Indians. While Manco himself laid siege to Cuzco, Paullo was to lead the Indians against Almagro, kill the Spaniards, and thus help to restore the Inca empire.⁸ Paullo's decision to side with Almagro, however, violated Manco's trust and marked the beginning of an Inca schism that lasted until Paullo's death in May of 1549.⁹ The motivation for Paullo's change is not known with certainty. According to Paullo's grandson, Melchor Carlos Inca, Paullo was angry at his brother for having accepted the puppet Incaship under Pizarro. For this reason, the grandson said, Paullo sided with the Spaniards.¹⁰

Manco raised his siege of Cuzco at the time of Almagro's return from Chile. The military situation in Peru thereupon shifted from a native uprising to a civil war between the Almagro and the Pizarro factions. Almagro, aided by Paullo, was convinced that Manco could not be pacified and took the strategic step of crowning Paullo with the traditional Inca *borla*. The ceremony took place probably in mid-1537. By a public act, Almagro nullified the sovereignty of Manco (then at his court in Vilcabamba),

⁶Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 108; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 164.

⁷There is some contrary evidence. See Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 64.

⁸*Ibid.*, 64 ff.; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 89. Manco adopted a somewhat similar policy later in fostering Chilean hostility toward Valdivia: Valdivia to Charles V, September 4, 1545, in Pedro de Valdivia, *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia que tratan del descubrimiento y conquista de Chile* (Sevilla, 1929), 15-17; Valdivia to Hernando Pizarro, September 4, 1545, in Maggs Brothers, *From Panama to Peru: The Conquest of Peru by the Pizarros, The Rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, and the Pacification by La Gasca* (London, 1925), 66.

⁹La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, July 17, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 69.

¹⁰Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 29, 148-149.

and invested Paullo with the symbols of Inca authority.¹¹ Native lords attended from distant areas, and they swore loyalty to Paullo. We are told that this act attracted to Almagro's side not only those who had returned with him from Chile, but also many others who joined them, including some who abandoned Manco to come to Cuzco for this purpose.¹² Paullo was eventually recognized as Inca by the native population of southern Peru and the area extending to the borders of Chile.¹³ However Hispanized Paullo became in habits, dress, and religion, there can be no doubt that his followers continued to venerate him as Inca. Their attitude is indicated by their behavior toward his body after his death. Though Paullo received a Christian burial from the Spaniards, his Indian followers fixed some of his hair and nails to a small statue and worshiped this statue, according to Father Cobo, "como cualquiera de los otros cuerpos de los reyes Incas."¹⁴

The strategic importance of the Inca Paullo for the Spaniards was incalculable. His popularity among the natives and his effectiveness in drawing supporters from Manco's side¹⁵ were so great that the Pizarro faction made strenuous efforts to secure his allegiance against Almagro.¹⁶ Paullo's conversion to Christianity became a factor of great importance in the Christianization of the mass of the native population.¹⁷ His position was influential, similarly, in the establishment of an increasingly large bloc of loyal natives to withstand the rebellious adherents of Manco. Finally, Paullo was regarded as a means for effecting the transition to

¹¹Vicente Valverde (Anonymous), "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco y principio de las guerras civiles del Perú hasta la muerte de Diego de Almagro, 1535 á 1539," in *Coleccion de libros españoles, raros ó curiosos* (XIII, Madrid, 1879), 125; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 293; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 184.

¹²Valverde, "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco," 125; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 834; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 294; Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal, *Vida del conquistador del Perú Don Francisco Pizarro y de sus hermanos Hernando, Juan y Gonzalo Pizarro y Francisco Martin de Alcántara* (Barcelona, s.f.), 465; Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 90.

¹³Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 89.

¹⁴Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 209-210; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 158-159.

¹⁵Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 90.

¹⁶Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 331-332.

¹⁷Vaca de Castro to Charles V, November 24, 1542, in *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877), 491; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 46.

complete Spanish control. In describing the Incaship in 1539, Bishop Valverde pointed out this temporary character:

. . . despues de pasado este Paulo, paresce cosa conveniente para el sosiego de la tierra que no haya otro Señor ni otro Inca, ni conozcan otro, sino al Gobernador, en nombre de V.M.¹⁸

But the Spanish efforts to use Paullo as an agent for effecting the pacification of Manco continued to be unsuccessful. During the period of Almagro's command in Cuzco, military force was employed against Manco in the attempt to end the schism and to bring all Peruvian natives under the Incaship of Paullo.¹⁹ At the same time, peaceful overtures were extended to Manco in the form of an invitation from Almagro, requesting that he return to Cuzco to live peacefully. This was secretly countered by a message from Paullo, who advised his brother not to accept Almagro's invitation. Paullo's motives in this correspondence may be easily reconstructed. To Valverde, at any rate, who described the negotiations in a letter to the king, Paullo's motives seemed clearly personal.²⁰ The pardon and recognition of Manco at that time would have spelled Paullo's downfall. It was to Paullo's interest to discourage any understanding between Manco and the Spaniards. Paullo profited from Spanish unity and Indian schism.

In the battle of Las Salinas (April, 1538), the Pizarro faction finally conquered the followers of Almagro. Paullo, continuing to pursue a policy of opportunity, easily made the transfer from Almagro's to Pizarro's Incaship. The office of puppet ruler under Pizarro, the office that Paullo now began to occupy, had already been clearly defined by a succession of native chiefs. Pizarro's strategic conception of a legally constituted Inca under Spanish control had been demonstrated in negotiations with Atahualpa, Huascar, Tupac Hualpa, Challicuchima, Hualpa Capac, and Manco Inca.²¹ It is probable, furthermore, that still other members of the royal family had been raised to the nominal Incaship by Pizarro, after Manco's uprising and before Almagro's return from Chile. We have information concerning at least one such, a member of a small military party sent from Los Reyes to Xuaxa in late 1536 or early 1537. This was an unnamed brother of Manco whom Pizarro had elevated "por señor de la tierra."²² The inci-

¹⁸Vicente Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco al Enperador sobre asuntos de su iglesia y otros de la gobernacion general de aquel pais," in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias* (III, Madrid, 1865), 114-115.

¹⁹Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 294.

²⁰Valverde, "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco," 115.

²¹Perhaps Paullo himself had already been crowned by Pizarro. See above.

²²Presumably this Inca was killed. The expedition proved to be a disastrous failure: Valverde, "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco," 74-75.

dent is unimportant save as an indication of the military exigencies that determined Pizarro's whole philosophy of puppet Incaship.

Paullo, certainly, proved to be the most satisfactory of all Pizarro's puppet rulers. During his incumbency the office came to approximate the rôle projected for it by the Spaniards. As Paullo's position in Spanish hands became more secure, he grew less fearful that his new allies would succeed in pacifying Manco or in substituting Manco for himself as puppet Inca. His interest in maintaining the native schism, therefore, declined. About March of 1539, Paullo accompanied Gonzalo Pizarro in an unsuccessful expedition against Manco.²³ In the autumn, Gonzalo Pizarro sent a thirty-day ultimatum to Manco, and Paullo, no longer apprehending danger, wrote at the same time, mentioning the favorable treatment he had received at Spanish hands and promising similar treatment for Manco.²⁴ By 1539, in fact, Paullo had come to be the chief Spanish tool for the reduction of the hostile Inca party. Valverde wrote:

. . . y como este Paulo sea amigo nuestro, y pretende ser él el Inca nuestro, el otro que anda alzado pensamos y tenemos por muy cierto que lo traerá de paz ó la matará, porque tiene copia de gente.²⁵

After Manco's death, in 1544 or early 1545, the Vilcabamba succession devolved upon the son, Sayri Tupac. The civil war of Gonzalo Pizarro occupied Spanish attention until after the loyalist victory at Xaquixaguana (April 8-9, 1548). Only then did the *presidente*, Pedro de la Gasca, turn his attention to the pacification of the separatist Inca state. Paullo was called to negotiate with his nephew, the rival Inca, Sayri Tupac. Success seemed imminent, for Sayri Tupac respected Paullo, La Gasca said, as a father.²⁶ Envoys and gifts were exchanged. Sayri Tupac proved to be far more amenable than Manco to Hispanization; and, despite the objections of his chiefs, he agreed to surrender to the Spaniards during the following summer. Paullo played a major rôle in these negotiations until his death brought them to a sudden end. He was at Guaynacapaco *en route* to Vilcabamba when sick-

²³*Ibid.*, 194. See also Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 42 ff.; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 107; Dunbar Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," 39 ff.

²⁴Carvajal to Charles V, November 3, 1539, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, III, 200.

²⁵Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 115. Montesinos states that local natives behaved toward Paullo, in the campaigns against Manco, "como á su Señor natural": *Anales del Perú*, I, 114.

²⁶La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, July 17, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 70.

ness suddenly obliged him to return to Cuzco. He died there in May, 1549.²⁷

With the death of Paullo, the Spaniards lost their most loyal and most successful puppet Inca. The Inca schism declined after Paullo's death because of the compromising characters of Sayri Tupac and Titu Cusi, the Vilcabamba leaders. Paullo had prepared the way for this transition by allowing himself to become acculturated, while commanding the veneration of great masses of former Inca subjects. The progressive Hispanization of Paullo had been expressed in his conversion to Catholicism, his adoption of a Spanish name, his assistance in the construction of religious buildings, and the military service that he had offered to the Spaniards.²⁸ Because he responded so well to the Spanish techniques of conquest, Paullo had been granted rewards and honors, including royal congratulations, *repartimientos*, and a coat of arms combining Spanish and Inca motifs.²⁹

In the transition from Inca to Spanish concepts of sovereignty, the pliable figure of Paullo Inca emerges as perhaps the most significant of all. Paullo was sensitive to every change in the conquest power balance. In each case he shifted from the losing to the winning side. He first abandoned Manco for Almagro. After the battle of Las Salinas he left Almagro to join Francisco Pizarro. Reverting temporarily to the rebellious forces under Almagro the Lad, he again sided with the loyalists after the battle of Chupas. And finally, in Gonzalo Pizarro's civil war, he transferred his allegiance to the loyal army of La Gasca.³⁰ An evident opportunist, Paullo fulfilled perfectly the Spanish concept of Christianized *señor natural*. The royal honors and favors that he received, although they were designed in part to entice the separatist Inca leaders to surrender, undeniably reflected a genuine appreciation and approval of Paullo's behavior. Unlike his brother Manco, Paullo was incapable of profound hatred. He lacked the astute ambition of Atahualpa. He was not defeated by any deficiency of character, as was his brother Tupac Hualpa. His capacity for

²⁷Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 210 ff.; La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, July 17, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 69. Antonio states that Paullo died in Cuzco in 1551: "Discurso sobre la descendencia de los Incas," 47.

²⁸Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 90-91; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 45-46.

²⁹Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 167 ff.; Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 91; La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, July 17, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 69; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 46-47; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 158; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 209; Cúneo-Vidal, *Vida del conquistador del Perú*, 465-466.

³⁰Valcárcel, "Final de Tawantisuyu," 91.

adapting himself to new conditions was his salvation. In surviving the progressive stages of Inca decadence, under Spanish control, Paullo compromised and succeeded where his more unyielding brothers had failed.

During the time that Paullo acted as representative of the pacified Inca population and for more than two decades after Paullo's death, the separatist Inca state continued to maintain itself in Vilcabamba. Spanish diplomatic relations with this group depended upon a variety of factors: the periodic disunities in Spanish government, caused by Almagro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Girón, and others; the personalities of the various Spanish governors and viceroys; the fluctuating menace of Vilcabamba raiders upon Spanish economy. The whole period was marked, however, by a fairly consistent religious and political policy, that of bringing the Vilcabamba state into the framework of the pacified Inca government. If possible this was to be accomplished by peaceful means. The Spaniards, accordingly, adopted strategically variant attitudes toward the separatist ruling Inca, regarding him at times as the legitimate head of a foreign power and at times as an illegitimate revolutionary leader. The precedent of recognized multiple Incaships, however, had existed from the early days of the conquest, and so long as the Vilcabamba state offered no more than moderate interference in colonial affairs, the Spaniards could safely regard its pacification as a secondary objective.

The regime of Manco in Vilcabamba (1536 to *circa* 1545) was marked, more than later reigns, by acts of diplomacy that involved both Spanish and native dissensions. Manco himself was constantly aware of divisions among the Spaniards, and the strategy of his rebellion always took account of these struggles. His maneuvers at the time of Almagro's war against Pizarro form one striking instance of this policy. The campaign to bring Manco to peace was in no small measure due to the struggles of one group of Spaniards against another and to the interest of each in gaining Manco's aid. Emissaries from the rival Spanish factions, bargaining for alliance, pardon, aid, or other terms, occasionally found themselves at Manco's court at the same time.³¹ The Pizarro adherents insisted that Manco should ignore Almagro's overtures because they said, Almagro lacked duly constituted authority.³² Both Spanish factions permitted unusual freedoms

³¹Manuel de Espinall gives interesting details concerning these Spanish and native intrigues, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, III, 168 ff.; Valverde, "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco," 94.

³²Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 308. One of the charges brought against Almagro after his capture by the Pizarro forces was that of having negotiated with the Vilcabamba rebels: Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 99.

to allied Indians, lest an opposite policy should drive these allies to the enemy.³³ Manco, however, continued to recognize his interest in Spanish dissensions. Even after the defeat of Almagro, he obstinately refused to treat with an envoy who professed friendship for Pizarro.³⁴ He aided Almagro the Lad against Pizarro's successor, Vaca de Castro.³⁵ In all his negotiations he sought the continuation of Spanish factional conflict as a deterrent to his own "pacification."

Even on Manco's side, in the early period of schism, the issues and hostilities were not well defined. Traditional respect due the Inca, although it had apparently still been strong at the early period of Atahualpa's captivity, had declined thereafter, and Manco's prestige as puppet Inca in Cuzco had suffered.³⁶ Later, when Manco raised the siege of Cuzco, some of the natives in the besieged city had been anxious to follow him to Vilcabamba,³⁷ but the strategic coronation of Paullo again induced desertions from Manco's camp. The Vilcabamba state even experienced an attempted revolution, under the leadership of Carbayayso, a native captain who planned to kill Manco and rule as Inca in his stead. It is possible that Carbayayso had been in contact with Gómez Pérez and Diego Méndez, the Spaniards who succeeded in killing Manco a few days after Carbayayso's capture.³⁸ In any event, it is clear that Manco's death at the hands of these Spanish refugees was the result of his own willingness to shelter any enemy or professed enemy of Pizarro.³⁹

The Spaniards realized that the pacification of the Inca would be followed by the almost instantaneous pacification of his followers.⁴⁰ The numerous attempts both to conquer Manco by force and to persuade him to submit peaceably reflect a want of decision in method rather than any disagreement respecting the goal of

³³Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 119-120.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 120.

³⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 96.

³⁶Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 5, p. 169.

³⁷Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, 304.

³⁸Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 207.

³⁹During the entire Vilcabamba period, the separatist state served as a Spanish refuge. See the report given in Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo supremo organizador del Peru su vida, su obra (1515-1582)*—(I, Buenos Aires, 1935), 341.

⁴⁰References to native dependence upon Inca leadership are frequent in the literature. See Carvajal to Charles V, November 3, 1539, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, III, 201; Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 121; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 795. Garcilasso said that without the Inca, the Peruvian peoples were "como ovejas sin pastor": *Historia general del Peru*, II, 31.

pacification itself.⁴¹ The king of Spain wrote to Manco several times urging him to cease rebellion and to accept a pardon and favors from the Spaniards.⁴² In Peru the belief that Manco would submit peacefully was widespread.⁴³ The final decision to kill Manco is not well documented. But one may reasonably postulate a motivation similar to that which determined the deaths of Atahualpa and Chalcuchima: the Spaniards believed that the Inca's death would facilitate in one way or another the pacification of his subjects. To this major incentive were added, perhaps, motives of revenge and of internal Spanish rivalry, for the murderers of Manco were adherents of Diego Almagro. They had sought refuge in Vilcabamba after the battle of Chupas.⁴⁴

In spite of Manco's death, however, the ancient native institutions continued to function in the Vilcabamba state. The separatist government survived the death of its first leader. The Spanish murderers of Manco were killed. On his deathbed, Manco chose a successor in the traditional manner, not observing strictly the rule of primogenital succession.⁴⁵ He chose his son, Sayri Tupac, who was then but a boy. The practical affairs of government were to be assumed meanwhile by a regent, Atoc Supa, and by other *orejones*.⁴⁶

The Spaniards found in the new conditions a favorable opportunity for winning the Inca state to peace. The Vilcabamba state was suffering increasingly from illness, poverty, and hunger.⁴⁷ Sayri Tupac's youth and inexperience favored Spanish policy in a manner that contrasted markedly with Manco's uncompromising

⁴¹For an account of the expeditions sent by the Spaniards against Manco, see Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León*, 305 ff.

⁴²Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, Dec. 6, p. 187; Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 76-77.

⁴³See, for example, Arauco to Villalobos, July 15, 1541, in *Colección de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, III, 214.

⁴⁴Diego Rodríguez, "Narrative of the Route and Journey made by Diego Rodríguez from the City of Cuzco to the Land of War of Manco Inca who was in the Andes in Insurrection against the Service of His Majesty, and of the Affairs touching which he Treated with the Object of Establishing Peace, as well as to Induce the People to Receive the Evangelical Doctrine of Our Lord Jesus Christ," in Pedro de Cieza de León, *The War of Quito by Pedro de Cieza de León and Inca Documents* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., London, 1913), 178; Anonymous, "Virey D. Francisco de Toledo," in *Colección de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, VIII, 264; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 163; Pedro de Cieza de León, *The War of Chupas* (Clements R. Markham, trans. and ed., London, 1918), *passim*.

⁴⁵Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 208-209.

⁴⁶Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 455; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 209.

⁴⁷La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, September 25, 1548, in *Colección de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XLIX, 417.

hostility toward Pizarro. The Spaniards exploited Sayri Tupac's affectionate respect for his uncle Paullo, during the year that elapsed between the execution of Gonzalo Pizarro (April, 1548) and the death of Paullo (May, 1549). During this time, La Gasca sent Paullo to negotiate with the separatist Incas. Messengers were received on both sides. Banquets and elaborate gifts were exchanged.⁴⁸ But Sayri Tupac or more probably his regent, proved to be demanding and procrastinating in his bargaining. In exchange for submission he requested many favors, including several specified hereditary estates in Cuzco and Xaquixaguana.⁴⁹ The Spaniards were at the point of accepting these demands when Paullo's death, Sayri Tupac's delays, Girón's rebellion, and La Gasca's return to Spain combined to bring the negotiations to a halt.⁵⁰

Diplomatic relations were not seriously restored until several years later when the Viceroy Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, reinvoked Sayri Tupac's promise to Paullo. The Spaniards, however, no longer possessed a puppet Inca through whom negotiations could be conducted. The death of Paullo had left them empty-handed. The policy whereby the puppet Incaship had been dissolved after Paullo's death had broken the schism of Inca leaders, and the Spaniards now used as negotiators high-ranking acculturated women of the Inca class, or their Spanish husbands. The most prominent of these women was Beatriz Coya, a sister of Manco and an aunt of Sayri Tupac.⁵¹ The familiar rewards and honors were again offered, and Sayri Tupac, whose coronation in Vilcabamba had taken place meanwhile, overcame the objections of his *orejones* and agreed to submit.⁵² Many of his most influential subjects elected to remain in Vilcabamba. But Sayri Tupac himself, with a group of loyal followers, entered Lima on January 5, 1558.⁵³

⁴⁸Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 210-211; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 252.

⁴⁹La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, May 2, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 61; La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, September 25, 1548, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XLIX, 416-417.

⁵⁰Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 212.

⁵¹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Perú*, II, 281; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Perú*, 455; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 212.

⁵²Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Perú*, 455 ff.; Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 197 ff.; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 212.

⁵³Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Perú*, 457; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 252.

It is not likely that the Spaniards crowned Sayri Tupac as Paullo's successor in the puppet Incaship after his desertion from the Vilcabamba state.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, they regarded him as a most influential hostage and prize. Sayri Tupac's position, in this respect, may be compared with that of Atahualpa, who came into Spanish hands already crowned. It may be contrasted with the position of Tupac Hualpa, Paullo, and Manco, all of whom were crowned under Spanish auspices. Sayri Tupac's coronation had, in fact, occurred in Vilcabamba shortly before his entry into Lima.⁵⁵ With his defection, therefore, the schism again came into being. It is stated that he entered the colonial capital carried on the traditional Inca litter, accompanied by a retinue of 500 Indians, and decorated with the royal insignia. On the one hand, he is said to have renounced his rights to Peruvian rule in homage to the king of Spain.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the Spaniards encouraged local rulers to visit him in Cuzco, the ancient capital, and to pay him homage in the rituals of native Incaship.⁵⁷ The Spaniards treated him, moreover, with banquets and celebrations in the well-established ceremonies of the puppet Inca. He was given a retinue of Indian and Spanish servants. He adopted the names and manners of Manco Capac and Huayna Capac, former rulers of the Inca government.⁵⁸ He was baptized with a Christian name, and a papal bull was secured to permit his marriage with his sister, Cusi Huar cay.⁵⁹

The pacification of the separatist Inca state must have seemed, in 1558, well on the way to success. With the winning of Sayri Tupac, the Spaniards had once again brought a recognized Inca into the framework of colonial institutions. The schism of pacified and separatist Incas, arrested by the death of Paullo, was

⁵⁴Hiram Bingham states that Sayri Tupac received the royal fringe under Spanish rule: "Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XXII, Part I (new series, 1912), 154.

⁵⁵Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 456-457.

⁵⁶Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 206.

⁵⁷Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 458; Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 206.

⁵⁸Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 454; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 213. The interesting possibility occurs that these names may have had special significance. According to Betáncos, a young legitimate heir was called Huayna Capac: *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, 113-114.

⁵⁹Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 454, 459; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 213; Ocampo, "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," 228; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 233; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 443.

now revived, and the Spanish position was stronger than it had been at any time in the past. While Sayri Tupac lived as an acculturated Inca in his estate in the Yucay Valley, the series of raiding parties directed at the flow of Spanish commerce ceased altogether.⁶⁰ But the victory was short-lived. Sayri Tupac died suddenly in 1560. A group of Vilcabamba nobles had opposed his defection to the Spanish side, and it is possible that his death occurred at their hands.⁶¹ The schism was broken once again, and the separatist state was thereupon granted another extension of its precarious existence.

Sayri Tupac was succeeded in Vilcabamba by his elder half brother, Titu Cusi, a son of Manco. Titu Cusi had led the separatist faction of the revived Inca schism, in opposition to Sayri Tupac. In order to bring this Inca into peace, both before and after the death of Sayri Tupac, the Spaniards continued to employ the familiar methods of military, diplomatic, and religious negotiation. Royal letters, promises of peace, presentation of gifts, and offers of property in the colonial government were invoked in respect to Titu Cusi, as they had been in respect to his predecessors, Manco and Sayri Tupac.⁶² Several very interesting reports have survived, written by envoys who had been sent to treat with Titu Cusi. Fray Marcos García, for example, entered the Vilcabamba area in 1566, and he soon succeeded in converting the Inca to the Christian faith and in baptizing him with a Christian name.⁶³ Another missionary, Diego Ortiz, continued the religious penetration. Titu Cusi's attitude fluctuated, however. He revived the series of forays upon Spanish commerce.⁶⁴ Once, ostensibly angered by a sermon, he made an attempt to poison Fray Marcos García.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the missionaries succeeded in effecting the construction of several churches, and an approximation of Christianity was thereafter constantly maintained in the separatist Inca state.⁶⁶

⁶⁰Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 214.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 212-214.

⁶²Las Casas, *Coleccion de obras*, II, 190, 321-322; C. A. Mackehenie, "Apuntes sobre Don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inca," *Revista histórica* (Lima), III (1909), 371-390; V (1913), 1-14.

⁶³This event took place on August 12, 1568: Titu Cusi Yupanqui, "Murder of the Inca Manco described by his Son," in Cieza de León, *The War of Quito*, 167; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 794 ff.

⁶⁴Anonymous, "Virey D. Francisco de Toledo," 265.

⁶⁵Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 803.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 800.

With the accession of Viceroy Toledo, negotiations were intensified.⁶⁷ Titu Cusi was again promised pardon and property.⁶⁸ Other envoys were sent, one of whom has left a most revealing statement of his discussion with Titu Cusi and of their respective attitudes toward the legitimate succession:

... I ... [stated] that here in Peru it was said that he was not the heir of the Incas of this kingdom, but the sons of Atahualpâ [were the heirs], because the Spaniards found him in possession of the kingdom when they arrived. He answered that Atahualpâ was a usurper and a bastard who had murdered Huascar Inca the legitimate heir, and that after him came his father Manco Inca. I then observed that the report was that he was an illegitimate son. He then told me that among them, when there was no legitimate son, the custom was that a bastard succeeded. ... This was in default of another brother, at least one who was older than himself. He thus inherited the temporal lordship. He was in possession and was recognized by the other Incas. They all obeyed him, and if he had not the right they would not obey him. For the rest the question had better be settled by arms and not by talking.⁶⁹

Though he had been baptized and though he spent a brief period in Cuzco in January, 1571, Titu Cusi was never truly pacified nor brought into colonial life. His death in 1571 was followed by the accession of Tupac Amaru I, and by a period of warfare in which many missionaries and other envoys met their deaths.⁷⁰ The Viceroy Toledo thereupon resolved to conquer the separatist state by force of arms. The history of his punitive expedition has often been told and need not be recounted here.⁷¹ Tupac Amaru was finally captured and decapitated. By the end of 1572, the separatist Inca state had been dissolved, and the area was opened for Spanish penetration and settlement.⁷²

⁶⁷For a detailed account of Toledo's attempts to induce Titu Cusi and Tupac Amaru to submit, see Anonymous, "Virey D. Francisco de Toledo," *passim*. Matienzo gives an excellent account of the accession and rule of Titu Cusi: *Gobierno del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1910), 193 ff. Titu Cusi himself discusses the negotiations in *Relacion de la conquista*, 98 ff. See also Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, II, 44.

⁶⁸Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 336.

⁶⁹Rodríguez, "Narrative of the Route and Journey," 188-189.

⁷⁰Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 336-337; Ocampo, "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," 207 ff.

⁷¹Full accounts with bibliographies are given in Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, *passim*; Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo Fifth Viceroy of Peru 1569-1581* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1938), *passim*.

⁷²Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 214 ff.; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Perú*, II, 295 ff.; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 104 ff.; Horacio H. Urteaga, "El virrey Don Francisco de Toledo," in *Monografías históricas sobre la ciudad de Lima* (II, Lima, 1935), *passim*; Ocampo, "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," 216 ff.; Balthasar Ramírez, "Description del Reyno del Piru del sitio temple," in Trimbom (ed.), *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte des präkolumbischen Amerika*, 67; Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 114 ff.; Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 399 ff.

The long campaign to bring the separatist Inca state into harmony with Spanish policies of subordinate Incaship is one of the major historical events of the sixteenth century. In it, Spanish colonial policy may be observed in a significant phase. Of the many mentioned aspects of Inca sovereignty, the most obvious and the most important in the Spanish view involved the assimilation and gradual weakening of the office of Inca. When this office became too independent or too hostile to be tolerated, the Spanish moral and political philosophy readily countenanced the ruling Inca's execution and his replacement by a presumptively legitimate successor. The campaign against Vilcabamba was one of gradual acculturation. As each new Inca emerged to head the revolutionary state, new efforts were made at pacification. Always the objective was the removal of the Inca to Cuzco, where he could receive the veneration of his subjects and yet be subordinate to Spanish control. The schism of pacified and separatist Incas, although it was not consistently maintained, continued to be the chief Spanish device for dealing with the Vilcabamba rebels. Through this schism the Spaniards offered to each separatist ruler a safe position in the Spanish camp, a position, furthermore, that entailed little loss of prestige. Meanwhile, the way was opened for religious penetration into the mountain area. Only in the early periods of internal Spanish conflicts, and at the very end, under Viceroy Toledo, were armed forces consistently employed against the separatist Incas. The process of reduction is impressive for its character of compromise. The major effort was not to destroy but to assimilate this hostile element.⁷³

This deliberate fusion of Spanish and Inca rulers, however, was not the only instance of its kind in sixteenth-century Peru. Of the two other governments that made outstanding efforts for the control of the country in the sixteenth century—that of Manco Inca and that of Gonzalo Pizarro—both contemplated similar compromise and fusion with the ruling figures. The fact suggests an essential quality of sixteenth-century America, where problems of race affected society at every level. No personal record of Manco's plan is known. A speech of one of his generals, however, suggests his strategy of racial amalgamation as a step in the formation of a new empire. During Manco's rebellion, at the time of the siege of Los Reyes, this general announced his plan: the native

⁷³In this the Spanish ethical conception of a just warfare was not the only determinant. The Spaniards were occupied, as has been said, with other tasks. Considered solely as a military opponent, also, the separatist Incas offered vast problems. Valverde stated in 1539 that all the Spaniards in the world would be insufficient to subdue the Vilcabamba state: "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 115.

armies would enter the city, kill all Spanish males, seize the Spanish women, and, with these as wives, create a strong new generation for an imperial state.⁷⁴ The scheme is interesting for several reasons. It represents, first, a reversal of the practice then current, for from the earliest days of the conquest, Spaniards had adopted the habit of killing native lords and seizing their women. According to Garcilasso, the Indians normally placed no value on female descent, except in those cases in which the descendants were sons of Spanish conquerors.⁷⁵ The natives thus were planning for the Spanish women a rôle similar to that which the Spaniards had already created for native women, and one which they had used strategically, as in the negotiations with Sayri Tupac. During these very battles against the troops of Manco, moreover, the Spaniards had adopted a policy of wholesale slaughter of Indian women in order to bring the revolutionists to terms. The great losses in the native female population were so serious, in fact, that the raising of the siege of Cuzco was contemporaneously attributed to this strategy alone.⁷⁶ The native plan to make use of Spanish women, therefore, may have been due in large measure to this military policy of the Spaniards.⁷⁷

Again, in the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, a similar plan emerged. The rebellion originated as a protest against the New Laws, which had been brought to Peru by Blasco Núñez Vela. But it soon developed into a campaign to create an independent monarchy, with Gonzalo Pizarro as king. Independent monarchy itself was part of the general political atmosphere of colonial Peru, as it had been of colonial Mexico.⁷⁸ Monarchical ambitions figured in the plans of many ambitious Spaniards, including Aguirre, Guzmán, Almagro the elder, and Almagro the Lad.⁷⁹

⁷⁴Valverde, "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco," 79-80.

⁷⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 533.

⁷⁶Valverde, "Relacion del sitio del Cuzco," 43-44, 52.

⁷⁷On the other hand, plans for alliance with Spanish women may have been a more or less constant element in native revolution. In the little-known incident of Felipe Segovia Valderrábano Briceño, this appears to have been the case. See Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú* (11 vols., Lima, 1931-1934), X, 130.

⁷⁸The plan of Cortés may be reconstructed from *Archivo mexicano. Documentos para la historia de Mexico* (2 vols., Mexico, 1852-1853), *passim*.

⁷⁹See the account of the Aguirre affair, in *Colección de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, IV, 240 ff.; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 315; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Perú*, II, 92; Toribio de Ortiguera, "Jornada del Río Marañon con todo lo acaecido en ella, y otras cosas notables dignas de ser sabidas, acaecidas en las Indias Occidentales," in M. Serrano y Sanz (ed.), *Historiadores de Indias* (Madrid, 1909), II, 351-352; Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 254-255.

Under Gonzalo Pizarro, however, the movement for independent monarchy reached its most extensive and impressive form. Gonzalo Pizarro's plans took shape between January, 1546, the date of his victory over the viceroy at Anaquito, and April, 1548, the date of his own defeat at the battle of Xaquixaguana. His monarchical achievement, though of extraordinary interest in its own right, is important here only in so far as it combined Spanish and native principles of sovereignty. As the ruler of an independent state, Pizarro relied upon control of the sea. He envisioned a complete new-world empire extending from Chile to New Spain. Before the battle of Xaquixaguana he ceremoniously burned the royal arms of the Spanish king.⁸⁰ A golden crown studded with emeralds had been secretly made for his coronation.⁸¹ He adopted monarchical insignia, a court and army, a "throne," and a royal guard. His plans included titles of nobility, chivalric orders, and a papal bribe to secure the monarchical title.⁸² His authority was rationalized by human and divine right, for he was the surviving member of the family that had conquered the heathen Indians.⁸³ His adherents justified his action by the examples of Pelayo and García Jiménez and other early rulers of the Iberian peninsula.⁸⁴

In so far as Gonzalo Pizarro's monarchical ambitions involved compromise with features of native sovereignty, however, they contemplated strategic marriage with one or another of the women of the royal Inca family. Reports announced a plan of marriage

⁸⁰Maggs Brothers, *From Panama to Peru*, 482; Diego Fernández, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia del Peru* (*Documentos literarios del Peru*, VIII, IX, Lima, 1876), I, 112-113.

⁸¹Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 391-392.

⁸²This bibliography is extensive. The following may be noted: Carvajal to Gonzalo Pizarro, March 17, 1547, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 177; Report of Pero Hernández Paniagua, in *Colección de documentos inéditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, XLIX, 117 ff.; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, III, 326 ff. and IV, 393 ff., 399 ff.; Fernández, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia del Peru*, I, 120 ff., 230 ff., 255 ff., 296 ff.; Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión de Pizarro en el Perú y vida de D. Pedro Gasca* (2 vols., Madrid, 1889), I, 61-62, 83, 102, 156, 249-250, 298-299; Maggs Brothers, *From Panama to Peru*, 42 ff., 57, 173, 182, 417, 474; Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, II, 261 ff., 271 ff.; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 437; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, 420.

⁸³Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 389-390.

⁸⁴Francisco López de Gómara, "Hispania victrix. Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias," in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (XXII, Madrid, 1877), 265; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, III, 325.

for Gonzalo and his niece Francisca, a woman of the Inca family. She was the daughter of Francisco Pizarro. Her mother had been Inés Huaylas Yupanqui, a sister of Manco, Paullo, and Tupac Hualpa.⁸⁵ This rumored engagement came to the attention of the Spanish king, who wrote to La Gasca forbidding the marriage.⁸⁶ A second plan, similarly involving Gonzalo Pizarro's marriage into the Inca family, appeared in a series of letters addressed to him and written by Carvajal, his military advisor. When Carvajal heard that La Gasca's fleet had arrived at Nombre de Dios, he advised Pizarro to lose no time in putting the whole of the monarchical program into effect.⁸⁷ Carvajal emphasized alliance with the Inca as the one means for ensuring continued native support. He advised Gonzalo Pizarro to marry the sister or daughter of the separatist Inca and to restore this Inca to his ancient position. In the alliance planned by Carvajal, Pizarro would have had charge of military affairs and would have controlled the native armies through the puppet Inca. The natives, Carvajal believed, would side unanimously with Gonzalo Pizarro under this leadership, and the Inca would be bound to him by ties of marriage and ancestral prestige. The alliance also, he thought, would secure for Pizarro the fabled Indian wealth that had been hidden since the early day of the conquest.⁸⁸

The projects of both Manco and Gonzalo Pizarro came to naught. Each failed through military defeat. Manco, forced into the Vilcabamba mountains, had no opportunity to unite the Peruvian and Spanish races. Gonzalo Pizarro, suffering from wholesale desertion in his own camp, submitted to La Gasca without a struggle and never married the Inca "heiress." For the present purpose, nevertheless, these failures are not significant. Instead we may note the consistent principle of racial fusion: in practice, racial fusion existed at every level; in the plan of Manco's general it assumed a native rather than a Spanish emphasis; and in the desperate fantasy of Gonzalo Pizarro and his advisors it reached the level of a dynastic ideal involving the independence of large sections of sixteenth-century America.

⁸⁵Cúneo-Vidal sees in the union of Francisco Pizarro and the daughter of Huayna Capac a secret plan to found a combined dynastic state: *Vida del conquistador del Perú*, 298-300.

⁸⁶See the report of La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, September 25, 1548, in *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XLIX, 424; Maggs Brothers, *From Panama to Peru*, 147, 487-488.

⁸⁷Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, IV, 385 ff.

⁸⁸Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 155 ff. With some difference in dating, Montesinos offers what may be the strategic incentive motivating Carvajal's scheme. Gonzalo Pizarro, he states, feared an intensification of the Vilcabamba rebellion and the recapture of Cuzco by the separatist Incas: *Anales del Perú*, I, 146 ff., 242.

CHAPTER VII

Spanish Rule and Native Institutions

It is a most enlightening commentary upon the sixteenth-century Spanish psychology that while the preservation of the Incaship engaged the attention of *conquistadores* and colonial officials, they promoted or permitted the destruction of other institutions of native sovereignty. The doctrines of inviolate *señor natural*¹ bulked large in the philosophy of the conquest of Peru. The doctrines of inviolate *instituciones naturales*, however, received less emphasis and, until the time of Viceroy Toledo, were generally subordinated to considerations of military expediency, religious conversion, and economic profit. The institutional history of the Spanish conquest, accordingly, is not uniform. The several elements in the composition of native society were subject to variant degrees of deformation and control.

This apparent inconsistency in the methods of Spanish conquest may be easily explained. The *conquistadores* were drawn from every stratum of the population of Spain. Personalities as opposite as those of Almagro and Las Casas thus became participants in the conquest of native America. Preservation of the Incaship, furthermore, may be reconciled without difficulty with the general behavior and broader objectives of the conquerors of Peru. A doctrine of *señor natural*, regardless of its applicability to the conditions of American society, was never a primary motive. The doctrine was coincidental, but not determinant. Preservation of the Incaship was, as has been seen, predominantly strategic and political in its motivation. It was, furthermore, an avowedly transitional measure. Its duration was regarded as contingent upon the effectiveness of the conquest and upon the gradual introduction of Spanish political institutions.

Like other institutions whose transitional character forms their *raison d'être*, however, the colonial Incaship of Peru was peculiarly susceptible to controversial interpretations. A vigorous theological and juridical tradition in Spain, expressed in the writings of such men as Vitoria and Las Casas, and by such enactments as the Laws of Burgos (1512), emphasized native rights and the conservation of native rulers. The realistic attitude of many political governors, on the other hand, countenanced official murder of native Incas as an opportune and frequent

¹See Robert S. Chamberlain, "The Concept of the *Señor Natural* as Revealed by Castilian Law and Administrative Documents," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 130-137.

practice. Political governors in America tended to regard the office of puppet Inca as no more than an instrument, lacking intrinsic value. The puppet Incaship, thus, was an institution of compromise whose dual character was never wholly concealed. Its ambivalent rôle was, in fact, symptomatic of a larger difference of opinion, one that penetrated Peruvian society at many levels. In this larger difference of opinion, one group of Spaniards occupied itself with the systematic or careless destruction of pre-conquest life and with the substitution of a new colonial society. The other favored, for moral reasons, the retention or restoration of pre-conquest customs within the flexible framework of colonial administration.

These two opposite points of view form the subjects of the present and the following chapters. They provide two convenient categories for sixteenth-century American history. Nevertheless, since they were not customarily manifested in pure form, they are to be regarded as tendential only. The treatment of the native Inca, for example, characteristically reveals elements of both points of view. In a sense the controversy is still being waged, in the current discussions regarding the relative extent of spiritual and economic motivations in the Spanish conquests.

The ancient institutions of Inca sovereignty, therefore, in so far as they preserved coherence in the pacified native culture, continued to derive a formal justification from the Inca at the apex of the political hierarchy. The extent to which political stratification actually survived under the puppet Inca is indeterminable. There is convincing evidence that he still received a measure, at least, of that traditional respect to which he had been entitled under the ancient social forms. It is certain, however, that this formal reverence suffered increasing deterioration during the course of the sixteenth century. The decay may be inferred from that Spanish policy, previously described, whereby the puppet Incaship became progressively less important and whereby it finally disappeared altogether.

The essential difference between pre- and post-conquest social organization has been defined in the designations, "unique hierarchy" and "multiple hierarchy."² The latter term refers to the multiplication of small local castes in the *encomienda* system. These castes formed a marked contrast to the single Inca hierarchy of the native empire. In each *encomienda* a degree of independence was achieved, and a reduced hierarchical government came to be established.³ Many contemporary observers found in

²Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," 376.

³For a description of internal *encomienda* government, see Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 16.

these *encomienda* governments, with their native officers and their deliberate absorption of subordinate levels of the native hierarchy, an imitation on a smaller scale, of the original "unique" government. The *encomendero* or the *curaca*, these observers said, became the equivalent of the Inca in absolute power. The puppet Inca in Cuzco, it may be presumed, received the ebbing veneration of his subjects, but no longer commanded the authority with which that veneration had formerly been associated. Unity, therefore, was destroyed. Santillan, one of those who participated in the colonial government of the mid-sixteenth century, wrote:

Estos encomenderos se hicieron cada uno de ellos un inga, y así usaron por virtud de las dichas encomiendas de todos los derechos, tributos y servicios que aquella tierra hacia al inga, y más los que ellos les añadieron.⁴

Abundant evidence supports the conclusion that the *curacas* of the Spanish *encomiendas* established powerful local governments, in whose tyrannies the Spanish *encomenderos* readily acquiesced.⁵ With the conquest, a great compression and vulgarization had taken place in the native hierarchy, so that all the functions of colonial government were conducted through these multiple caste systems. Sixteenth-century colonial society held no place for the higher Inca officers, save in this concentrated stratification of the *encomiendas*.⁶ The original ratio of common to noble classes was, of course, deeply affected. The ancient symmetry of native orders disappeared. Indian society suffered large-scale agitation. The *yanacona* class expanded out of all propor-

⁴Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 57; Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 17; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 89, 163; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 99, 103. Pedro de Quiroga, *Libro intitulado coloquios de la verdad trata de las causas e inconvenientes que impiden la doctrina e conversion de los indios de los reinos del Pirú, y de los daños, e malos, e agravios que padecen* (Sevilla, 1922), 68. Similar statements are frequent in the colonial literature of Peru and especially in the writings of critics of the colonial administration. The following, written in 1608 by an anonymous critic of Viceroy Toledo, is characteristic: "El gobierno que el Inga tuvo parece que era más conforme a la capacidad, ser y flemma destos indios y más provechoso para ellos que no el que tienen y han tenido los españoles, por muchas causas; la primera, que primero no había más que un solo señor, que era el Inga, a quien servía toda la tierra, y no diez mill como agora hay . . .;" Anonymous, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 66.

⁵Roberto Levillier (ed.), *Audiencia de Lima correspondencia de presidentes y oidores documentos del Archivo de Indias* (I, Madrid, 1922), 294 ff.; Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 249.

⁶Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 50 ff. The process was not corrected under the *corregidores*. Garcilasso stated that several hundred *corregidores* performed the functions of a few Inca officials: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 222.

tion to its former size and function, becoming a great mobile shiftless proletariat, serving Spanish masters.⁷ It is not too much to say that the principles of Inca sovereignty, in so far as they were manifested in the decimal hierarchical organization, were almost completely ignored under Spanish rule. It is true that certain vestiges of the hierarchy persisted, in the transitional Incaship and in the *encomienda* governments. But considered as adaptations of native systems of sovereignty, these represent only fragmentary adjustments at an elementary level.

The intricate system of native social orders thus evolved, under Spanish auspices, into a society of foremen and separate masses. These were designated, respectively, as the *curaca* and the *hatunruna* groups. In addition, the *yanacona* class, which had never participated actively in the Incaic hierarchy, attracted those natives to whom servitude under direct Spanish control was preferable to the hardships of *encomienda* life. Stratification was curtailed, and the remnant social ranks were in constant flux. Vagabond Spaniards traveled throughout Peru, robbing the land, disintegrating native populations, and forcing Indians to serve as litter bearers or *yanaconas*. Civil wars and Indian uprisings provided the Spaniards with an excuse for native enslavement.⁸ The over-all Indian population was halved in the thirty years following the conquest.⁹ Everywhere Spanish religious and economic practices interfered in the operation of the native social system. Only Christianized Indians, for example, could participate officially in the pacified governments. Unconverted Indians, however high their capacity or however "legitimate" their status, were disallowed.¹⁰ Similarly, the Spaniards permitted the use of Indians as beasts of burden, since Spanish economy was faced with an insufficient number of serviceable draft animals.¹¹ The Spaniards

⁷Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 108-109; Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," 377 ff.

⁸La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, January 28, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 28; Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 108-109. At the time of Manco's rebellion Pizarro gave the order that natives could legally be seized as slaves: *ibid.*, 112.

⁹See the figures, tables, and discussion in Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," 334 ff. The reduction of native populations is treated, for individual communities, in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*.

¹⁰Thomas de Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru tomo primero* (Lima, 1752), 126-127. The purpose was the general conversion of large groups of natives. "La conversion y Christiandad de los Indios depende del de sus caciques": Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 18.

¹¹It is true that the official Spanish policy tended to discourage this employment and sought to compensate for its evils by a system of financial pay. The normal rate of pay was very low. It was quoted at eight and one-half *maravedis* per day in 1563. See the royal order to the *Audiencia* of Charcas in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 507-508.

found ready at hand these large resources of human labor and exploited them in mining and other economic activities with an energy that was never effectively controlled.

The basic distinctions between noble and commoner were still observed in the *encomiendas* and elsewhere. But the intricate gradations within the noble casts lost their social application completely and were everywhere ignored. The insignia of ear enlargement, for example, had been strictly controlled during Inca times. Its use had depended upon ceremonial initiation rites. It had been employed, except in certain very special cases, only by members of the Inca lineage. After the Spanish occupation, however, many non-Inca Indians assumed the privilege of ear enlargement in order to enhance their personal prestige.¹² Many also falsely claimed Inca descent and began to wear the royal feathers.¹³ The Spaniards countenanced the decline of old headdress distinctions, and many emboldened pretenders appeared wearing one or another of the royal insignia.¹⁴ The private Inca language had completely disappeared by the early seventeenth century.¹⁵ The ancient privileges regarding use of the coca plant and of the roads suffered large-scale abuse. Indians of every rank adopted the habit of coca mastication, and the roads were covered with migrant and aimless natives released from their former subjugation.¹⁶

The far-reaching institutions of Inca centralization underwent an even greater transformation under Spanish rule than did the Inca class itself. This ruling class persisted, at least, in the lives of its surviving members, and in the respect accorded them by Spaniards and *hatunrunas*. The great corpus of Inca institutions, however, which this class had so effectively imposed upon the cultures of subject peoples, suffered heavily with the conquest. The fact suggests an important and diagnostic trait in Inca imperial civilization. That such specialized Inca elements as the decimal hierarchy were excised from the total pattern of Peruvian cultures is indicative of their superficiality. These aspects

¹²Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 44-45.

¹³This effectively contradicted the old belief that the species was limited to two specimens. It forms an additional, and very special, instance of the fragmentation of the Inca idea.

¹⁴Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 179; Atienza, *Compendio historial*, 39.

¹⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 216, 533; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 18.

¹⁶See the royal order to the Viceroy of Peru, 1600, in *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XIX, 121; Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 16; Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 108-109, 116; Quiroga, *Coloquios de la verdad*, 102.

of Inca culture, however brilliant, were the more easily eradicated, because their roots nowhere extended beneath the surface of imperial life.

Spanish rule in America, as has been suggested, implied the very opposite of centralization. The multiplicity of semi-independent *encomiendas* represents a reduction and fragmentation of the Inca idea. Constant wars divided the country in a criss-cross pattern of military fronts, incessantly advancing, retreating, and changing direction. To the Indians, these divisions seemed to deny even the small measure of Spanish unity implied by the monarchical government. When told that an all-powerful king ruled from across the ocean, the Indians, observing only warfare in Peru, were skeptical. Valverde's statement of this attitude is of great significance for the present study. The Indians, Valverde wrote (1539),

piensan que no hay otro rey sino aquel que vence al otro, porque acá entrellos no se acostumbra que un capitan peche contra otro, estando entrambos debaxo de un señor.¹⁷

Dispersal took many forms under Spanish rule. Politically the empire was first divided by royal command between Almagro and Pizarro.¹⁸ After Almagro's execution, the plan for division of Peru into two areas, each with its governor, was revived.¹⁹ Meanwhile hostilities kept the country in a state of constant disunity. A number of separate urban centers developed, whose locations were determined by the exigencies of Spanish commercial and mineral economy. The geometric centralization of Cuzco was not exploited, save superficially as the part-time residence of the puppet Inca. Pizarro carefully chose the site of Los Reyes for its economic advantages.²⁰ By 1567, Juan Matienzo could describe the mining center of Potosí as "la llave de aquel Reyno."²¹ Within a generation after the conquest, therefore, Peruvian life had changed from a delicately balanced political empire to the social condition of a bonanza frontier.

Mobility likewise characterized sixteenth-century life in Peru. The breakdown of Inca restrictions opened the roads, as has been said, to the free travel of large masses of people. The scrupulous care of the Incas in replacement and control of populations came to a sudden end. The Spaniards at first, unlike the Incas, failed

¹⁷Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 119.

¹⁸Almagro's grant is dated May 4, 1534. The documents are cited by Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780*, 74.

¹⁹Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 125.

²⁰Bernabé Cobo, "Historia de la fundacion de Lima," in *Monografías históricas sobre la ciudad de Lima* (2 vols., Lima, 1935), I, 13 ff.

²¹Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 85.

to observe climatic factors in the movements of populations. Variations in temperature and barometric pressure are often unbearable in Peru. In shifting native laborers or *yanaconas* between the coast and the *sierra*, the Spaniards often found that over half failed to survive.²² An economic loss of such magnitude was, of course, insupportable. Gradually the ancient Inca rule again came into force.²³ The case is one in which deliberate imitation of Inca custom coincided with the most compelling type of economic necessity.

With the transformation of the rôle of Cuzco, and with the development of numerous urban foci for colonial economic life, the function of the Inca roads underwent a corresponding reorientation. Spanish society employed these roads for wholly new purposes. In contrast to the directional emphasis of the Inca state, Spanish economy emphasized the lateral connecting roads, as outlets from mining areas to the sea. Unlike the Incas, too, the Spaniards were able to use ocean-going vessels for longitudinal commerce. The volume and weight of the new commercial traffic speedily reduced the roads to a state of extreme disrepair. The roads had been constructed originally for use by a native aristocracy and army. Llama and litter traffic had constituted their heaviest load. The Spanish introduction of heavy vehicles and draft animals, therefore, combined with the incessant military movements to ruin the road surfaces.²⁴ The Incas' careful attention to highway maintenance and repair was ignored by the Spaniards. *Tambos* were sacked by invading armies and by private individuals. *Chasquis* and keepers were killed or forced into service.²⁵ Matienzo gives a graphic picture of travel in Peru under such conditions: food and shelter were unprocurable in

²²Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 113; *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, 146.

²³Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 411; Ramírez, "Description del reyno del Peru del sitio temple," 40; Marqués de Cañete to the king, 1556, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, IV, 109.

²⁴Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 91-92; García, *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo*, 186-187; Polo de Ondegardo, "Informe . . . sobre la perpetuidad," 140.

²⁵See the royal order to the Audiencia of Charcas, 1596, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XIX, 84-85; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 193; Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, "Ordenanzas de tambos distancias de unos a otros, modo de cargar los Indios y obligaciones de las justicias respectivas hechas en la ciudad del Cuzco en 31 de mayo de 1543," *Revista histórica* (Lima), III (1909), 429; Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 411; Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 142 ff.

the *tambos*; carriers and horses were unavailable; roads and bridges were not maintained.²⁶

Once again, however, economic considerations forced upon the Spaniards a revival of ancient Inca practices. Controlled and official use of these *chasquis* and *tambos* for mail-carrying purposes had been suggested very early in the colonial period.²⁷ Abuses had persisted, however, until the time of the governorship of Vaca de Castro (1541-1544), who fixed limits upon the burdens of Indian carriers, and who issued other regulations "conforme a los del Inga."²⁸ These rules were observed for a time, but the ever-shifting emphases of Spanish economy created new flows of traffic, and the novel conditions developed inequalities in the assignment of maintenance labor. By the time of Viceroy Toledo, Vaca de Castro's rules had become patently unjust. The injustices produced new quantities of Indian litigation, and the constant travel of native litigants to and from the *Audiencia* contributed further to the breaking down of the roads.²⁹

An attempt to counter the destructive process of conquest by means of a reversion to Inca methods thus created new problems and conflicts. In so far as this attempted reversion affected maintenance of roads, the Spaniards' own economy remained in a state of such flux that any system soon became ineffective. In the time of Viceroy Toledo, however, reforms in the quarters of Andesuyu and Condesuyu were undertaken by Francisco de Lima, who approached the problem of road repair in a forthright and efficient manner. He measured the road lengths, estimated the coefficient of disrepair, enumerated the Indians who occupied the given areas, and assigned to each one an equal portion of work. No Indian under this system was assigned more labor than any other, "en una onza de peso y trabajo."³⁰ This equalitarian labor assignment is significant. The Spaniards had failed to effect repairs through exploitation of lower hierarchical levels. In ignoring the hierarchy and in assigning work on a basis of individual equality,

²⁶Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 25-27.

²⁷Trimborn (ed.), "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle," 411.

²⁸Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 92; Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 25; Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares," 30; Marqués de Cañete to the king, 1556, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, IV, 109; Vaca de Castro, "Ordenanzas de tambos," 427 ff.

²⁹Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, 137; Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares," 30; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 56-57; Sebastián Lorente (ed.), *Relaciones de los Vireyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú* (3 vols., Lima and Madrid, 1867-1872), I, 19 ff.; Atienza, *Compendio historial*, 116 ff.

³⁰Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares," 30-31.

they were attempting to introduce European doctrine, unrelated to the Inca practice of hierarchical reward. The effort was at least partly successful. By the end of the century, some of the *tambos* had been restored, and salaried *chasquis* were at work carrying Spanish despatches. It was observed, however, that the number of *tambos* was not so great, nor was the runners' pace so swift, as in the times of the Incas.³¹

The history of the roads typifies that uncontrolled disunity that characterized sixteenth-century Peruvian life under the Spanish regime. The contrast with the unity of pre-conquest times was everywhere apparent. The ancient care in the conservation of llama flocks and other resources, for example, was not observed.³² The Spaniards enforced in Peru separate and contradictory regulations, and the royal orders often had little effect.³³ A depreciation in agriculture contrasted strikingly with former Inca values.³⁴ The Quechua language lost ground, and the pre-Inca languages re-emerged, so that by the latter part of the sixteenth century the variety of local tongues was said to be greater than it had been before the conquest.³⁵ On every hand disruption and fragmentation took the place of Inca unities. But Francisco de Lima's attempts to allot road labor on an individual basis represent a reform in the Spanish practices of decentralization. He proposed, in effect, the denial of hierarchical government and the affirmation of a legally constituted uniformity for native life. His program appealed to the Spaniards' sense of equality and justice.

This contrasting tendency toward individualism forms a counter-element in the processes of Spanish colonization. Its failure is best revealed not in road maintenance but in the methods of tribute collection. Under the Incas all tribute had been remitted in the form of labor. Under the Spanish regime, characteristically, taxation took various forms. The initial period of tribute by labor

³¹Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, 133, 145; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 193.

³²Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 24.

³³See the very interesting royal order of 1580 to the *Audiencia* of Charcas, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 528.

³⁴Official disinterest in agriculture in the colonial period is treated by Prado, *Estado social del Peru*, 66-67.

³⁵Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 216, 219 ff.; Ramírez, "Description del reyno del Peru del sitio temple," 22; Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 77. Atienza in the late sixteenth century notes the great variety of languages in Peru and offers what may be an explanation for the local deterioration of the *lengua general*. The latter, he states, was first imposed by Huayna Capac: *Compendio historial*, 26.

and personal service had led to serious abuses.³⁶ The crown, therefore, forbade taxation of this type and ordered that all Indian payment be made in kind or in money. Even in cases where both tribute-payer and tribute-collector preferred that payment be made in personal service, such payment was forbidden by royal order.³⁷

Abuses, of course, persisted. Exorbitant demands were made upon the native capacity to pay. Impartial observers, comparing the system of taxation under Inca rule with that under Spanish rule, found the latter to be far more onerous and disorderly.³⁸ Others, it is true, were able to rationalize and reach an opposite conclusion.³⁹ For the present purpose, it is important only to note the comparative disunity of the Spanish government and the later equalitarian methods proposed to correct abuses. As the "unique hierarchy" of Inca administration had been transformed into the "multiple hierarchy" of the colonial period, so native taxation underwent a process of fragmentation and dispersal. There existed a multiplicity of Spanish institutions, each demanding tribute. Santillan wrote that in the time of the Incas, the Indians

tributaban y servian sólo á un señor, que era inga, y ahora [circa 1572] á muchos, que son: el encomendero y el cacique ó curaca, hacer las iglesias y adornallas, el dinero que los piden los obispos, sustentar y servir á los religiosos y sacerdotes que están en las doctrinas, servir los tambos y á

³⁶Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 59; Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 17; Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares," 33; Marqués de Cañete to the king, 1556, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, IV, 94; Royal order to the Audiencia of Charcas, 1596, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XIX, 84; Royal order to the Audiencia of Charcas, 1563, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 505.

³⁷See the royal order of 1563 to the Audiencia of Charcas, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 504 ff. The crown was always concerned with the comparison of pre- and post-conquest taxation. See Polo de Ondegardo's emphatic statement that Inca taxation consisted solely of personal service: "Informe . . . sobre lo perpetuidad," 165.

³⁸Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 50 ff.; Domingo de Santo Tomás to Las Casas, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, VII, 371 ff.; Molina of Santiago, "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru," 124-125; Anonymous, "Relacion del origen e gobierno," 66-67; Francisco Falcón, "Representacion hecha por el licenciado Falcon en concilio provincial, sobre los daños y molestias que se hacen a los indios" (*Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru*, 1st series, XI, Lima, 1918), 144.

³⁹Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares," 32; Anonymous, "Parecer acerca de la perpetuidad y buen gobierno de los indios del Peru, y aviso de lo que deben hacer los encomenderos para salvarse dirigido a Don Juan de Sarmiento, presidente del consejo de indias" (*Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru*, 2nd series, III, Lima, 1920), 155 ff.

los corregidores que en ellos se ponen, que cada uno de ellos se hacen servir como sinó hobiese otro á quien tributar.⁴⁰

Each of these institutions found it comparatively easy to collect tribute through the colonial social organization of multiple hierarchies. Valverde, for example, took advantage of the ancient sun tribute, in both its spiritual and its practical operation, to effect a convenient transition to the institution of Christian tithes.⁴¹ But individual differentiation in the tribute levies soon offended Spanish morality. Criticism of tribute levies became widespread.⁴² Obviously, a program for the avoidance of injustice in taxation had to adopt, as Francisco de Lima had in the road reconstructions, a system that reached the individual taxpayers directly without the interference of the *curacas*. The crown ordered that investigations be made into the question of the rights and methods of tribute collection by the *curacas*, thereby sponsoring historical studies of ancient Inca practices.⁴³ A tendency toward equality in tribute thus becomes linked with historical investigation and an increasing awareness by the Spaniards of the civilization they had destroyed.

But the *curacas* were too firmly established in colonial society to be by-passed in this manner. Their authority reflected the combined powers of economic necessity and ancient tradition. Incaic hierarchical society had become, in post-conquest Peru, a society of two classes, *curacas* and *hatunrunas*, and all those offices previously assigned to the native "nobility" had been concentrated in the *curaca* class. This formidable heritage of nobility the Spaniards were unable to overcome. In a letter to the king in 1556, Viceroy Marqués de Cañete recounted the difficulties involved in breaking through the *curaca* class and in preaching individualism to the natives:

Vistas las visitas y remediando lo que pudiere, teniendo atencion á todo, en esta visita he mandado á los que van á hacella que traigan relacion y cuenta de todos los indios, y que entre todos se repartan los tributos, no cargando á los unos más que á los otros; y tambien que sepan lo que dan á los caciques y principales, para tasarles lo que han de llevar por razon de los cargos, porque en esto ha sido tan á rienda suelta, que los caciques son los que se lo llevan todo, y están tan sujetados los indios á esto, que no hay esclavos tan domésticos ni que tanto sirvan. Y esto nasce de que no han comenzado á

⁴⁰Santillan, "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas," 71.

⁴¹Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 96 ff.

⁴²Robles, "Provehimientos generales y particulares," 32; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 50 ff.; Marqués de Cañete to the king, 1556, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, IV, 108.

⁴³See the royal order of 1560 to the Audiencia of Peru, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 489-490.

entender que son libres, á lo menos en cuanto á esto de sus caciques; he proveido que esto se les declare y diga á todos, y que tengan órden en juntar en una casa todo lo que han de dar de tributo, y que lo que sobrare lo tengan en una caxa, que se llame del comun, y que de allí se sacarán para lo uno y para lo otro. A esto procuro inuiar buenos personas⁴⁴

The road network and the system of taxation have here been regarded as significant elements in the pattern of colonial disunity. Each clearly reveals a transition from centralization to fragmentation. The process, however, was not confined to these two elements. Other Inca institutions underwent equivalent change. The history of sun worship in the post-conquest period, for example, illustrates again the pervasive disunification of colonial life. Spanish missionaries were successful in reducing the sun's outstanding rôle in the Peruvian pantheon. Because a similarity with Incaic practices was easily pointed out in such matters as religious tribute and church maintenance, the formal transition to these aspects of Christianity was easily achieved.⁴⁵ Natives were persuaded that the sun, like man himself, is a creature rather than a creator. By familiar analogies, such as that of the letter carrier dispatched by a master, the sun was shown to occupy a subordinate position in relation to some greater power.⁴⁶ The religious transition was achieved more easily because of the prior recognition of Viracocha, the native creator deity who was readily identifiable with the Christian God.⁴⁷ By the mid-sixteenth century, in fact, the sun had become so reduced in rank that it often received scarcely more attention than any of the associated pantheonic deities. About 1551, San Pedro wrote that the natives were making sacrifices to the sun only "como á las demás guacas

⁴⁴Marqués de Cañete to the king, 1556, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, IV, 108-109.

⁴⁵Valverde, "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 96, 105.

⁴⁶San Pedro, "Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru," 41. Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 20. It is stated that this kind of comparison had already occurred to the Incas themselves: Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 59-60; Las Casas, *De las antiguas gentes del Perú*, 55; Morua, *Historia de los Incas Reyes*, 13; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 251, 294 ff. A particularly striking instance of religious disunification occurred in the use of the word *Viracocha*. The natives adopted the Spanish word *dios* for the creator deity, and applied the word *Viracocha* individually to the Spaniards: Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 7 ff., 209; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 32, 43, 52; Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 285; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 19; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 225. There is some evidence that the Spaniards encouraged this for purposes of political control. See Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 47.

⁴⁷Toledo, "Informacion de las idolatrias de los Incas," 154.

é ídolos.”⁴⁸ In the seventeenth-century literature, the sun is rarely emphasized. The Spaniards’ energies by this time were almost entirely devoted to the struggle against the manifold *huaca* cults.⁴⁹

In every significant phase, therefore, the history of Inca sovereign institutions in the post-conquest period is one of disunification. Evidence and documentation for the process are exceptionally clear. Specific manifestations of disunity are precise and demonstrable. The materials arrange themselves in a pattern of progressive disunification with a consistency that is rare in historical reconstructions. They form representative and key contrasts between native and colonial periods: between the “unique” and the “multiple” hierarchies; between the unification of one language and the proliferation of many; between the centralization of the solar cult and the regionalism of the *huacas*; between the systematic highway network and what García found to be only “algunos pedaços” of roads.⁵⁰ This conquest history, therefore, may be understood in one sense as a retrogression. The conquest destroyed the Inca achievement and reversed the processes of Inca imperialism, completing a curve of rise and fall, and leaving the area disunified, as it had been before the spectacular conquests of the Incas.

⁴⁸San Pedro, “Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru,” 41.

⁴⁹Oliva, *Histoire du Pérou*, 115 ff.; Jijón y Caamaño, *La religión del imperio de los Incas*, I, 1–2. Atienza, however, in the late sixteenth century, emphasized sun worship in a region away from Cuzco: *Compendio historial*, 150. The work of conversion and the religious condition of seventeenth-century Peru are treated in Pablo Joseph de Arraiga, *La extirpacion de la idolatria en el Peru* (Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, 2nd series, I, Lima, 1920), and in Pedro de Villagomes, *Exortaciones e instruccion acerca de las idolatrias de los indios* (Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru, 1st series, XII, Lima, 1919).

⁵⁰García, *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo*, 186.

CHAPTER VIII

Sovereignty in Colonial Peru

Spanish society had no governing principle to take the place of Inca sovereignty. Material evidences of colonial disunity, described in the preceding chapter, had counterparts in the variety of attitudes and opinions prevalent in colonial Peru. Motivations in the conquest and colonization had been numerous and contradictory. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, profound disagreements prevented even a theoretic unification. Ideological disputes continued to divide colonial life at one level, as military wars had divided it at another. It is the purpose of the present chapter to analyze these moral and intellectual differences as they related to one topic, preservation of Inca institutions in post-conquest Peru.

It goes without saying that not all elements of Inca sovereignty were destroyed or dispersed with the conquest. Some, like the Incaship itself, persisted in debilitated form. The aristocracy, for example, still maintained its position of prestige in the proliferation of multiple hierarchies. Members of Huayna Capac's family continued to receive honors,¹ and did not hesitate to insist upon special privileges from the Spanish crown. Melchor Carlos Inca, grandson of Paullo, traveled to Spain to seek his reward.² A French traveler, Frézier, mentioned a family of royal Inca descent in Lima in the early eighteenth century, to whom the viceroy paid public respect at the king's command.³

¹The Spanish feeling of responsibility regarding these descendants of the *señor natural* is revealed by Valverde in a letter to the king. Valverde wrote of Huayna Capac, "fue el Señor desta tierra; y pues era suya la tierra, V.M. tiene obligacion de les mandar dar de comer, porque andan perdidos que es lástima de vellos": "Carta del obispo del Cuzco," 114. For the difficult problem of distribution of family honors after Paullo's death, see La Gasca to Consejo de Indias, July 17, 1549, in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, L, 69-70. For an illustration of the coat of arms granted to Paullo's sister, see Cúneo-Vidal, *Vida del conquistador del Perú*, 308. See also Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 131; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 522 ff.; Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 424-425; Cúneo-Vidal, *Historia de las guerras*, 140-141, 153.

²Ocampo, "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," 219, 225; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 530-553; Antonio, "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas," 47.

³Amedée François Frézier, *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud aux côtes du Chily et du Perou, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 & 1714, dédiée à S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, Regent du Royaume* (Paris, 1716), 249. Cobo counted 400 male descendants of the royal line living in

Cults of Inca worship likewise persisted in the colonial period. For half a century after the conquest, certain native leaders sought to foster a belief that Spanish occupation would be only temporary.⁴ Various native revolts expressed in different degrees the desire to rid the land of Spanish intruders and to restore the Inca empire.⁵ Atahualpa's followers awaited their leader's resurrection and his resumption of the Incaship.⁶ Native peoples continued to till lands of the Inca and of the sun, and to store sun and Inca harvests according to the old custom, in a belief that ultimately they would render account to a restored native ruler.⁷ As late as 1602, an Indian was discovered in the act of recording local events with the aid of his *quipu*, in order to prepare the required report for the Inca.⁸ This belief in the temporary character of Spanish rule and in an eventual restoration of the dynasty was unwittingly fostered by the Spaniards themselves. The rapid turnover of Spanish religious personnel and the constant comings and goings of mine operators created an atmosphere of impermanence and change.⁹ Long delays in the campaign to pacify the Vilcabamba rebels tended to produce the same result, and ancient forms of Inca veneration were preserved in the separatist

Cuzco in the seventeenth century: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 209. See also Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 88; II, 524 ff., 530 ff.; Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, IV, 223; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 131; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 63, 65, 68-72, 81, 86, 139, 154. The text and illustrations of Guaman Poma offer numerous examples of Inca participation in colonial political and social life: *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, *passim*.

⁴Antonio de Zúñiga, "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga al Rey don Felipe II," in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (XXVI, Madrid, 1855), 92; Ruiz Naharro, "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," 250-251; Quiroga, *Coloquios de la verdad*, 81.

⁵See Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 36. In addition to Rumiñavi's revolt in Quito, the revolt of Manco Inca may be mentioned in this connection; see the speech of Manco's general, previously cited, in which alliances with Spanish women were planned.

⁶Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World* (W. H. Smyth, trans. and ed., London, 1857), 184. The crowing cock was thought to be mourning for Atahualpa: Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 483-484.

⁷Polo de Ondegardo, "Of the Lineage of the Yncas," 163; Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 54.

⁸Alcide d'Orbigny, *L'homme américain (de l'Amérique méridionale), considéré sous ses rapports physiologiques et moraux* (Paris, 1839), 290. In view of the limitations of the *quipu* it is probable that this record was mnemonic or statistical only. In the case cited, the Spanish officials burned the *quipu* and punished the offender.

⁹Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 60 ff.; Zúñiga, "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga," 92 ff.

state.¹⁰ For many years after Manco's retreat, natives successfully harbored the mummified bodies of former Inca rulers. Intensive search, and many severe torturings of Indians, were required before the Spaniards were able to locate the mummies and put an end to this idolatry.¹¹

Cults of Inca worship survived, however, without the mummies. Garcilasso attests that acculturated natives, even those capable of recognizing the idolatrous nature of the practice, continued to venerate names and memories of the ancient dynasty. If an individual of the caliber of the pre-conquest Inca rulers should reappear on earth, these natives said, he would still be regarded by the Indian peoples as divine.¹² The attitude of veneration toward the Inca was preserved in oral tales, in portraits, and in costumed impersonations of the royal family.¹³ It reflected what must have been a deep-seated nostalgia for pre-conquest life. Its significance in the political history of Peru resides in its preservation of certain phases of ancient lore, and in its maintenance of a tradition that nourished such rebels as Tupac Amaru II in the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ In 1781, after the death of the alleged¹⁵ Inca descendant, Tupac Amaru II, an order was given proscribing all such devices, as well as all vestiges of the Inca family and all use of the Quechua language.¹⁶

Decline of the ceremonial Inca institutions proved to be a gradual process. Great seasonal rituals, because of their repetitive nature, persisted in modified form for considerable periods of time. Cieza has described the funeral ceremonies at the anniversary of Paullo's death as adulterated but still impressive

¹⁰Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 325; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 455; Molina of Cuzco, "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," 62 ff.

¹¹Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 184; Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 255 ff.; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 81, 86, 154, 169; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 23-24; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, III, 190; Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 94; Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 357.

¹²Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, I, 103; II, 38.

¹³Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," 350. For an account of a festival in Cuzco in 1610 involving revival of pre-conquest ritual and impersonation of deceased Inca rulers, see Carlos A. Romero, "Festividades del tiempo heroico del Cuzco," *Inca*, I (1923), 447-454. For a similar ceremony of 1725, see Carlos A. Romero, "Una supervivencia del inkanato durante la Colonia," *Revista histórica* (Lima), X (1936), 76-94.

¹⁴Velasco, *Histoire du royaume de Quito*, I, 84.

¹⁵Philip Ainsworth Means finds the claim of Tupac Amaru II "undoubtedly authentic": "The Rebellion of Tupac-Amaru II, 1780-1781," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, II (1919), 13.

¹⁶Means, "The Rebellion of Tupac-Amaru II," 21-22.

functions, in which traditional lamentations and sacrifices were observed.¹⁷ Garcilasso described, even more graphically, a Situa ceremony that he witnessed in Cuzco about 1545.¹⁸ Garcilasso's description reveals characteristic traits of institutional survival and decay. With the complete change in the nature of the empire, the purpose of the festival had been forgotten, and its rituals had become devoid of significance. None of the participants, Garcilasso said, accepted the tradition that this ceremony would rid the land of evils. The four lance bearers acted only out of respect for the memory of former times. The performance, too, was careless. In the pre-conquest rite, exorcists had borne lances, torches, and other instruments of banishment from the city's central square to the farthest periphery of the empire. Now, however, Garcilasso noticed that one participant had discarded his torch within the city limits, in violation of this ancient rule.¹⁹

A few Inca practices were adopted by the Spaniards for their own use, with a larger purpose than that of simply rendering the political change less abrupt. At least in some areas, *quipus* continued to be used for census-taking throughout the sixteenth century.²⁰ Native languages, likewise, compelled a far-reaching adaptation that must be considered above the level of mere political strategy. The Spaniards at first displayed a conservative reluctance to employ the *lengua general*. Official policy, directed from the king and from the Council of Indies, favored use of the Castilian language as an instrument of religious instruction and conversion.²¹ In 1550, the king wrote to the provincials of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian orders, urging them to pursue by every possible method the instruction of natives in the Castilian language.²² In its early stages this campaign received a measure at least of native coöperation and support. Local native rulers who had effected the transition to Spanish control simply substituted the Spanish for the Quechua language in the habitual

¹⁷Cieza de León, *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, 104, 196.

¹⁸The date may be reconstructed from the information given and from the known date of Garcilasso's birth (1539): *Historia general del Peru*, II, 60.

¹⁹Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 232-233.

²⁰This is recorded in a report of 1605, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, IX, 495. For private use the *quipus* continued to be used as debt records, confession aids, rosaries and the like. They are occasionally found in use even today. See Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 166 ff.; Locke, *The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record*, 34, 44 ff.

²¹See the royal order dated 1550, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 472 ff.

²²The royal order is expressed in general terms but emphasizes religious conversion: *ibid.*, 472.

practices of linguistic unification. After describing how pre-conquest *curacas* had sent their sons to Cuzco to learn the *lengua general*, Molina of Santiago stated:

y aún ahora (*circa* 1555) he visto yo caciques mostrar á sus hijos la manera que han de tener para saber servir á los cristianos, y hacerlos mostrar la lengua española para el efecto, y esto ha salido de la antigua y loable costumbre que tenían en tiempo del Inga.²³

Under Viceroy Toledo, this linguistic program received a political rather than a religious emphasis. Legally, native political offices were denied to persons who had not acquired the new speech, and *curacas* were ordered to instruct their people from childhood in its use. A law was enacted ordering the establishment of a school in each *repartimiento*, where Spanish might be taught to sons of *curacas* and wealthy natives.²⁴ A Christian element in this linguistic conversion, however, was constantly present. As always in sixteenth-century Peru, it was expected that religious conversion of the mass would follow, as a natural result, the Christianization of native political leaders. Quechua was officially considered an inadequate instrument for the expression of Christianity, and *curacas* were instructed to address their people only in Spanish, "como hizieron la general lengua del Inga."²⁵ Officially, therefore, the goal sought, whether for religious or political purposes, was the substitution of one *lingua franca* for another.

In practice, however, quite another system was realized. In spite of these royal orders, few natives acquired a command of the Spanish tongue. A linguistic barrier that separated missionaries from their people was disturbing to persons interested in native conversion. In 1579, after eighteen years of Peruvian experience, Fray Antonio de Zúñiga stated that the Indians were no more Christian then than they had been at the time of the conquest. The mass of Indians, he said, had not learned Castilian, and the Spaniards rarely were proficient in native languages.²⁶ An unofficial program, therefore, was adopted favoring use of the ancient *lengua general*.

Garcilasso was always a strong advocate for this *lengua general*. He compared Quechua to Latin, as a civilizing and expressive tongue. He pointed out that it was highly regarded by the natives as a royal language, and that it was easily acquired by both

²³Molina of Santiago, "Relación de la conquista y población del Perú," 141.

²⁴Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Perú*, 142, 199; Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 16.

²⁵Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 17; Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Perú*, 199.

²⁶He listed the use of coca as the chief cause for the religious failure, and language as the second most important cause: "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga," 89 ff.

Indians and Spaniards. God, he said, had provided Peru with this common speech as a preliminary to Christianization, and the Spaniards, through a misplaced emphasis upon their own Spanish language, had neglected this divine aid.²⁷ A similar argument was adopted by missionaries. Zúñiga pointed out to the king that the Incas in conquering new lands had immediately imposed a general language and that the practice should have been adopted with even greater zeal by the Spaniards, devoted as the Spaniards were to sacred rather than to profane or heathen ends.²⁸ Acosta, also, noted the comparative ease of Christianization in areas where political and linguistic uniformity had prevailed. He mentioned Mexico, Peru, and the Antilles, comparing them with Florida, Brazil, and other areas, where no native sovereign had succeeded in integrating the local groups.²⁹ In Peru, however, where native unification had reached its most developed form, the official attitude favoring the use of Spanish served only to vitiate such natural advantages. The campaign to promote the use of Quechua was recognized in a law ordering the Indians to learn both languages.³⁰ In 1576, a chair of Quechua was instituted in the University of San Marcos. Knowledge of the Quechua language became a requirement for legal degrees, and, in 1680, for ordination in the priesthood.³¹

Studies in native languages, however, formed but one aspect of the officially sponsored researches into pre-conquest life. These researches were directed also at many other phases of Incaic society. Invariably, as in the case of the languages, they were prompted by practical or moral considerations involving relationships between pre- and post-conquest society. In this respect they differed from the researches of such historians as Cieza de León and Garcilasso de la Vega, and accordingly they are often said to compose a distinct school in Peruvian historical writing. This is the so-called "Toledan School," distinguished from the "Garcilassan School" of the presumptively more objective historians.

The Toledan School of Peruvian historiography takes its name from that of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa, during whose term of office (1569-1581) many of these historical researches were conducted. The school is generally defined by three

²⁷Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, II, 223-225.

²⁸However, Zúñiga here was speaking of the Castilian, rather than the Quechua, language: "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga," 94.

²⁹Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, II, 352 ff.

³⁰Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, 142.

³¹Library of Congress, *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts Concerning Peru, 1531-1651* (Washington, 1932), 254; Lorente (ed.), *Relaciones de los Virreyes y Audiencias*, I, 6.

diagnostic traits: prejudice against the Inca class, a belief that the empire must have been of late development, and a dependence upon those source materials that either derived from the northern part of the empire or were deliberately falsified by the Toledans "from the basest political and personal motives."³² The first of these, the prejudice against the Inca class, has always received a major emphasis. If the identification and characterization of these historians be accepted, therefore, the school is to be contrasted not only with Garcilasso, who betrayed no prejudice against the Inca class, but also with that theological and juridical tradition of Spain, which emphasized the natural rights of conquered peoples and the obligation of maintaining in office their natural leaders.

From the earliest years of the Spanish occupation in America this theological argument had opposed the practical and expedient measures of colonial administration. A proper understanding of the Toledan reforms and of the rôle assigned to historical investigation in the establishment of these reforms depends upon a knowledge of both Spanish intellectual tradition and practical colonial government. The latter had often been motivated by economic or political considerations inimical to moral and Christian doctrine. Spanish theological and juridical thinkers, on the other hand, had carefully fixed the rules of justified warfare and political control. Their long experience with non-Christian elements in Spain had prepared them with a body of doctrine applicable, in part at least, to the pagan society of America. In the thought of Vitoria, Soto, and others, a philosophy of conquest and colonization developed which, by the time of Viceroy Toledo, had become a major force in sixteenth-century Spain.

The essential question always was that of the nature and condition of the Indian. If the Indian were a subhuman being or a being who violated the natural conditions of humanity, certain exploitive or conciliatory measures became justifiable. If, on the other hand, the Indian represented a portion of human society and conducted himself accordingly, he partook of the natural social character of man and was entitled to exercise legitimate civil authority, autonomous and not subject to civil interference in a just society of nations. Human society, in the thought of Vitoria and Soto, forms a common basis for all mankind. It is natural alike to Christian and non-Christian man. Because man is God's creation, civil authority even in pagan society may be legitimate and respectable. Like ecclesiastical authority, civil power is perfect in its own sphere. The ecclesiastical arm is justi-

³²Means, "Biblioteca andina," 518-519.

fied in interfering only when its own sphere is jeopardized. One civil power may legitimately interfere in the operation of another only when the natural rights of all mankind are violated.³³

The most famous and the most articulate figure in this argument was Bartolomé de Las Casas, whose concern for the unprejudiced treatment of the Indians became a life work. In his application of the argument to the history of Peru, Las Casas forms a marked contrast to those members of the "Toledan School" who voiced hostility to the Inca class.³⁴ Native resistance became justified, Las Casas stated, at the moment that the Spaniards captured Atahualpa. Those Spaniards who participated in Atahualpa's death must make restitution to his heirs under penalty of eternal damnation.³⁵ The king of Spain is obligated, for the sake of his soul's salvation, to restore all the kingdoms of Peru to Titu Cusi, the ruling separatist Inca. Other Inca lords, likewise, must receive what is theirs.³⁶ The Spanish king is not entitled to any gold or silver mines of Peru except through voluntary presentation from native rulers.³⁷ All profits derived from mines must be returned to the Indians.³⁸ After the king of Spain has made the necessary restitution to the natives, the Inca should promise fealty to him and should provide him with yearly *gracias* of gold and silver. Apart from this, the Inca is to be left completely free.³⁹

Las Casas' opinion is easily recognized as a coherent but extreme view. An identification of a contrasting Toledan School, however, is easily misconstrued. Critics of the Toledan School have depended largely upon moral rather than upon analytic approaches. Means understands the Toledan histories as vituperative attacks upon the Inca state.⁴⁰ For our purposes, however, it is far more satisfactory to consider this historical activity in a broader sense,

³³The body of Spanish opinion is studied in Venancio D. Carro, *La teología y los teólogos-juristas españoles ante la conquista de América* (2 vols., Madrid, 1944).

³⁴Lewis Hanke treats the opposite views of Toledo and Las Casas: "Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and the Just Titles of Spain to the Inca Empire," *The Americas*, III (1946), 4 ff.

³⁵Las Casas, *Colección de obras*, II, 243, 235.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 315.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 292.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 238, 254-255.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 323-324.

⁴⁰Means, "Biblioteca andina," 479 ff. For a criticism of Means, see Rowe, "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area," 268 ff. Both Means and Markham are extreme in their denunciation of Toledo as historian and as "regicide." See Markham's remarks in Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, xx ff., and Ocampo, "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," 229-230.

as a manifestation of special and profound interest in the whole Incaic scene, and only secondarily as an expression of prejudice against its ruling class. It is certain, at any rate, that this prejudice was not the only motivation for Toledan historiography. The question involves a consideration of the nature of the empire and of the type of information derived from its various provinces, as well as other questions not directly pertinent to the present theme. But the development of a flourishing interest in the subject of Incaic society is undeniable. It was demonstrated not only in important historical activity but also in a series of social reforms characterized by deliberate imitation of outstanding features of Incaic life.

Official historical studies, of course, were not new. The Toledan historians climaxed a thirty-year tradition of investigations in various subjects of native society. Charles V had originated the first serious research during the period of Vaca de Castro.⁴¹ The early viceroys had continued the studies with more or less regularity.⁴² In one sense, therefore, the Toledan historical interpretations represent responses to a constant psychological demand. Far from being isolated phenomena, they preserved and culminated a long tradition of close intellectual contact between colonists and natives.

A detailed examination of the Toledan historical interpretations is not possible here. Their initial conception, the mechanics of their research, and the value of their data are associated, but not essential, topics for the present theme. It is pertinent now only to notice certain dominant characteristics of the Toledan historiography and to interpret these in their relationship to the moral and practical problems of colonial administration.

The Toledan historians, in the first place, reached a most significant conclusion respecting the legitimacy of the ancient dynasty.

⁴¹Of all the early governors and viceroys of Peru, Vaca de Castro is the one whose attitude most resembles that of Toledo. This is true not only of historical activity but also of a program of social reform. Garcilasso even attributed the quiescent governorship of Vaca de Castro to his having modeled his legislation upon that of the Incas: *Historia general del Peru*, II, 103.

⁴²Means, "Biblioteca andina," 328. The pre-Toledan researches into Incaic history form a most interesting subject for special study. It is well known that the Toledan School included historians, like Matienzo, who antedated Toledo, but who reflected, nevertheless, a similar spirit. Specific documents for such a study should include the following: Valverde's letter to the king, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, III, 118; Polo de Ondegardo's excellent statement of the necessity of historical research for purposes of Christianization, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, XVII, 6-8; the crown's questionnaire of 1551 to the *Audiencia* of Peru requesting information regarding the succession of the *curacas*, in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . *Archivo de Indias*, XVIII, 475-476.

The members of this dynasty, Toledo discovered, were not "verdaderos señores."⁴³ The detailed historical and genealogical⁴⁴ data collected by his historians indicated that the whole Inca class had consisted of usurpers and tyrants, who possessed no legitimate claim to authority.⁴⁵

The significance of such a view becomes evident when it is recalled that the Inca class had theretofore been identified, both theoretically and practically, as legitimate *señores naturales* in the Andean area.⁴⁶ The continued privileges accorded to descendants of the Inca class through the sixteenth century is evidence of an official attitude of respect. This common opinion had, in fact, provided Las Casas with a starting point for his pervasive criticism of the Spanish regime in Peru. Las Casas had held that since the Incas were natural rulers, the Spanish king, in so far as he interfered with Inca government, became an intruder and a usurper of rightful sovereignty. Toledo's conclusion, however, was exactly the reverse. It is rather the king of Spain himself, Toledo wrote, who is "legítimo Señor destos reinos y los Ingas y curacas tiranos y, como tales, intrusos en el gobierno dellos."⁴⁷

The question depended upon the meaning of "illegitimacy." It had been easy for the Spaniards to ascribe an illegitimate status to the reign of Atahualpa, since they had surprised this ruling Inca in the very act of usurpation.⁴⁸ The line of Huascar, thereupon, had automatically received a legitimate stamp.⁴⁹ The problem, as has been seen, was complicated by various exigencies of

⁴³Anonymous, "Virey D. Francisco de Toledo," 263.

⁴⁴The outstanding Toledan historian, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, was ordered not only to write a history of the Incas but also to sketch their genealogical trees. See Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 105; Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 255.

⁴⁵Anonymous, "Virey D. Francisco de Toledo," 263.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 263.

⁴⁷Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 201. It appears likely that Toledo, in using the word *curacas*, intended to refer simply to the upper levels of the Inca hierarchy, without distinguishing the "curaca class" from the "Inca class." Official titles had extended the word *curaca* through the *pachaca curaca* or centurion. But Toledo obviously did not intend to include among the *curacas* those local leaders whose legitimate authority he upheld. Atienza makes a similar distinction, in stating that the Indians preferred to live under tyrannical caciques (*curacas*) rather than under their *señores naturales*: *Compendio historial*, 24. For a good statement by Toledo of the tyranny of the *curacas* in the early colonial period, see *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, I, cl. ff.

⁴⁸Modern historians, occasionally, still treat Atahualpa with severity. Cúneo-Vidal calls him "un iconoclasta de la hermosa unidad" of Tawantinsuyu: *Vida del conquistador del Perú*, 273.

⁴⁹In this connection, the reader is again referred to the significant conversation between Father Rodríguez and Titu Cusi, quoted in Chapter VI.

military strategy. But its sense is clear. So long as Huascar continued to be regarded as a legitimate ruler, the use of force in the pacification of the separatist Vilcabamba state was difficult to justify, and critics could continue to accuse the Spanish king of usurpation. Toledo's philosophy, with its apparatus of authentic local documentation, removed this difficulty by founding the whole concept of legitimacy in Peru upon a new basis. Inca illegitimacy was not confined to Atahualpa. All members of the Inca class, he said, including Huascar, were usurpers.

In this connection, a second characteristic of the Toledan School of history becomes significantly consistent. In common social understanding, "legitimacy" is made a function of tradition. The case of the Spanish attitude toward Atahualpa indicates that of two usurpations, one ancient and one modern, the latter is regarded as the less justifiable. Toledo found this to be a case of *ignoratio elenchi*. Yet his historians did not completely contradict the fallacy. In so far as the Toledan interpretation placed the Inca imperial expansion in more recent times, it tended to equate the whole Inca usurpation with the crime of Atahualpa.⁵⁰

Again, the new concept formed a theoretical justification for the forceful conquest of the Vilcabamba state. That the three innovations—a new historical point of view, a reformation of colonial society, and a conquest of the separatist Incas—were all achieved in the reign of Viceroy Toledo, is more than accidental coincidence. There emerges a consistent pattern, one that accommodates all three aspects of the viceroyalty. The basic need at the outset of Toledo's period in office had been social reform. It was for this purpose, as Toledo himself stated, that historical researches had been originally undertaken.⁵¹ The social reform and the conquest of Vilcabamba became justified in view of historical conclusions respecting usurpation by the Inca class. As usurpers, or as the descendants of usurpers, the surviving members of the Inca class were subject to legitimate attack in both the pacified and the separatist states.⁵²

⁵⁰The false reasoning was not wholly convincing. Acosta, who was in Peru at the time, wrote, "los que se hacían deducir de la tiranía de los Incas y Señores Indios y de sus rapiñas, pues aun quando todo eso fuera cierto, no es lícito robar, ni siquiera a un ladrón"; León Lopetegui, *El padre José de Acosta S.I. y las misiones* (Madrid, 1942), 251.

⁵¹Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 185-186; Polo de Ondegardo attributed all the evils of taxation to Spanish ignorance of Inca customs: "Relacion de los fundamentos," 120.

⁵²Means and others, in praising Toledo's practical reforms while condemning his historical view and his judicial murder of Tupac Amaru I, fail to appreciate the relationship of practice and theory in sixteenth-century Spanish government: "Biblioteca andina," 479 ff.

Toledo's interpretation of legitimate rule in the ancient Inca dynasty is the first of his historiographical conclusions to be considered here. The second and corollary conclusion pertains to the status of the native mass and of the local leaders. These local leaders, in the view of the Toledo historians, were "verdaderos señores" in ancient Peru.⁵³ The treatment of Atahualpa had been justified previously as a proper punishment for the usurpation of Huascar's position. In Toledo's view, however, the positions of both Atahualpa and Huascar were regarded as illegitimate. Accordingly, Matienzo, one of the outstanding Toledo historians, had to justify the capture of Atahualpa in a wholly new manner. His justification depended upon a newly-formed belief in the unique legitimacy of local native leaders. He wrote:

Y así fué justa la prision de Atapalipa por Pizarro y su gente por librar aquellos Indios y sus Reyes naturales de la tiranía en que estavan, y justamente pudieron por ello hazles guerra.⁵⁴

In essence, Toledo's theoretical contribution resides not in his condemnation of the Inca class, nor yet in his affirmation of subordinate leaders. It resides rather in a new analytic concept of the structure of ancient Incaic society. In order to understand this, we must remember that the conditions in Peru at the time of the Spaniards' arrival had favored a dual conception of Incaic society based on the character of a fraternal, dynastic war. Conditions in the immediate post-conquest period, with its series of Inca schisms, had fostered a conceptual differentiation of pacified and separatist, or friendly and hostile, natives. Again, a moral distinction had been postulated. Certain native customs were unobjectionable; others, those that contradicted Spanish law or religion, could not be tolerated. In each of these, a different program had been implied. The Spaniards were to ally themselves with one brother against the other. The Vilcabamba state was to be pacified, while the puppet Inca received honors and rewards. Idolatry and crime among Incaic peoples were to be eradicated, but the Spaniards were to maintain those native customs which were compatible with the nature of human beings.

Toledo accepted neither the analysis based on the fraternal war nor that which countenanced the existence of both pacified and separatist states. His emphasis distinguished the Inca class from subject peoples on moral grounds. In conquering the Vilcabamba state he removed the practical basis for any analysis dependent

⁵³This effectively documents the alliance of the Spanish king with the subordinate levels of the native hierarchy. Both were *señores naturales* in the Toledan view. Both were opposed to the Inca class.

⁵⁴Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 13.

on schism in the Incaship. In uniting the two factions of pacified and separatist Inca groups, he realized in practice an implication of his theory.⁵⁵ By recognizing only local leaders as legitimate, he gave official sanction to the general colonial disunity. By affirming the status of lesser leaders and condemning the Inca class, he gave theoretical expression to an accomplished fact, the fall of the Inca power forty years after the conquest.⁵⁶ It was no accident that this theoretical expression was given at the same time that the separatist state was defeated, and by the same man who defeated it.

The relation between Toledo's historical activity and the execution of Tupac Amaru I should now be clear. These two, again, are related to his third great achievement, the realization of a vast program of social reform. This program was supported, in every case, by one or the other of his two historical conclusions: condemnation of the Inca class, and affirmation of the authority of local leaders. Thus his researchers took great pains to prove that the Inca class had compelled subordinate peoples to work in the mines.⁵⁷ The implication was obvious. It would have been unjust for the Spaniards, as legitimate rulers, to force their subjects to engage in more onerous labors than those imposed by the tyrannical Incas.

With his principles of historical justification, in fact, Toledo was enabled to introduce a variety of practical colonial reforms, based to some extent on the policies of those very Incas whose legitimate authority he condemned. Having designated the Inca class as illegitimate, he accepted the argument of Vitoria and Las Casas that native society was entitled to preserve its natural institutions.⁵⁸ The Toledan historian, Polo de Ondegardo, recognized the "obligación . . . de guardar sus fueros y costumbres

⁵⁵The old Garcilassan view, that far from uniting the separatist and pacified Incas, Toledo actually maintained the separation through enforced exile, has been overthrown by Levillier. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru*, II, 295 ff.; Calancha, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru*, 459, 834; Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, 366.

⁵⁶Logical inconsistencies, of course, occur in the Toledan histories respecting this conclusion. Thus Sarmiento de Gamboa seems to imply the validity of the Huascar line, when he states first that with Huascar's death all legitimate descent in the Incaship came to an end, and secondly that Atahualpa was a tyrant and a usurper, and not an Inca of Peru: *History of the Incas*, 189-190.

⁵⁷Toledo, "Informacion de las idolatrias de los Incas," 146, 159; Toledo, "Informaciones acerca del señorío," 199.

⁵⁸Vitoria had written in regard to the Indians: "Talis princeps qui obtinet principatum apud illos, tenetur facere leges convenientes eorum Reipublicae, etiam in temporalibus, ita ut bona temporalia conserventur et augeantur, et non spoliuntur pecunia et auro": Carro, *La teología*, II, 211.

quando no rrepunasen al derecho natural."⁵⁹ Like the Inca rulers, Toledo made an initial survey of the condition of the land.⁶⁰ He preserved the native tribal life in *reducciones*.⁶¹ He legalized the "natural" rulers, and strengthened the Spanish position by making the chieftainships nonhereditary.⁶² He sought to restore certain aspects of the decimal hierarchy.⁶³ He adopted a modified form of the ancient institution of *mitimaes*.⁶⁴ He opened schools for sons of Inca descendants at Cuzco and at Los Reyes.⁶⁵ He reformed the tribute levies and the regulation of the *tambos*.⁶⁶ Even in the most minute customs, Toledo faithfully followed the Inca model. "Ordeno, y mando," one of his laws stated,

q los Caziques y principales, Alcaldes, y Regidores coman en las plazas donde tienē costumbre de juntarse en los Pueblos, porq es justo que en esto se guarde la costūbre antigua del Inga, atento à que comen con ellos los Indios pobres comiēdo publicamente.⁶⁷

Such was his dependence, in fact, upon the Inca institutions, that Garcilasso called him, with justice, a second Pachacutec.⁶⁸

Viceroy Toledo accomplished far more, however, than the practical readoption of ancient Inca institutions. His reconciliation of Spanish and Inca philosophies of sovereignty remains one of the great achievements of sixteenth-century America. His application of conflicting Spanish ethical principles to the pre-conquest Incaic history furnished the basis for a colonial policy that persisted with little change⁶⁹ through nearly two and one-half cen-

⁵⁹Polo de Ondegardo, "Relacion de los fundamentos," 7.

⁶⁰Carlos A. Romero (ed.), "Libro de la visita general del virrey Don Francisco de Toledo 1570-1575," *Revista histórica* (Lima), VII (1924), 113-216. This was a Spanish institution, but Guaman Poma de Ayala, one of the *visitadores*, notes its similarity to ancient Inca practice: *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 453.

⁶¹Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, 138.

⁶²This is discussed by Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 222. Some of the native chiefs were granted privileges in personal service, payment of tributes and the like: Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, 137.

⁶³See the statement of Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna in Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide (ed.), *Coleccion de las memorias o relaciones que escribieron los virreyes del Perú acerca del estado en que dejaban las cosas generales del reino* (Biblioteca de historia hispano-americana, I, Madrid, 1921), 158.

⁶⁴Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 124-125.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 241; Lorente (ed.), *Relaciones de los Vireyes y Audiencias*, I, 7.

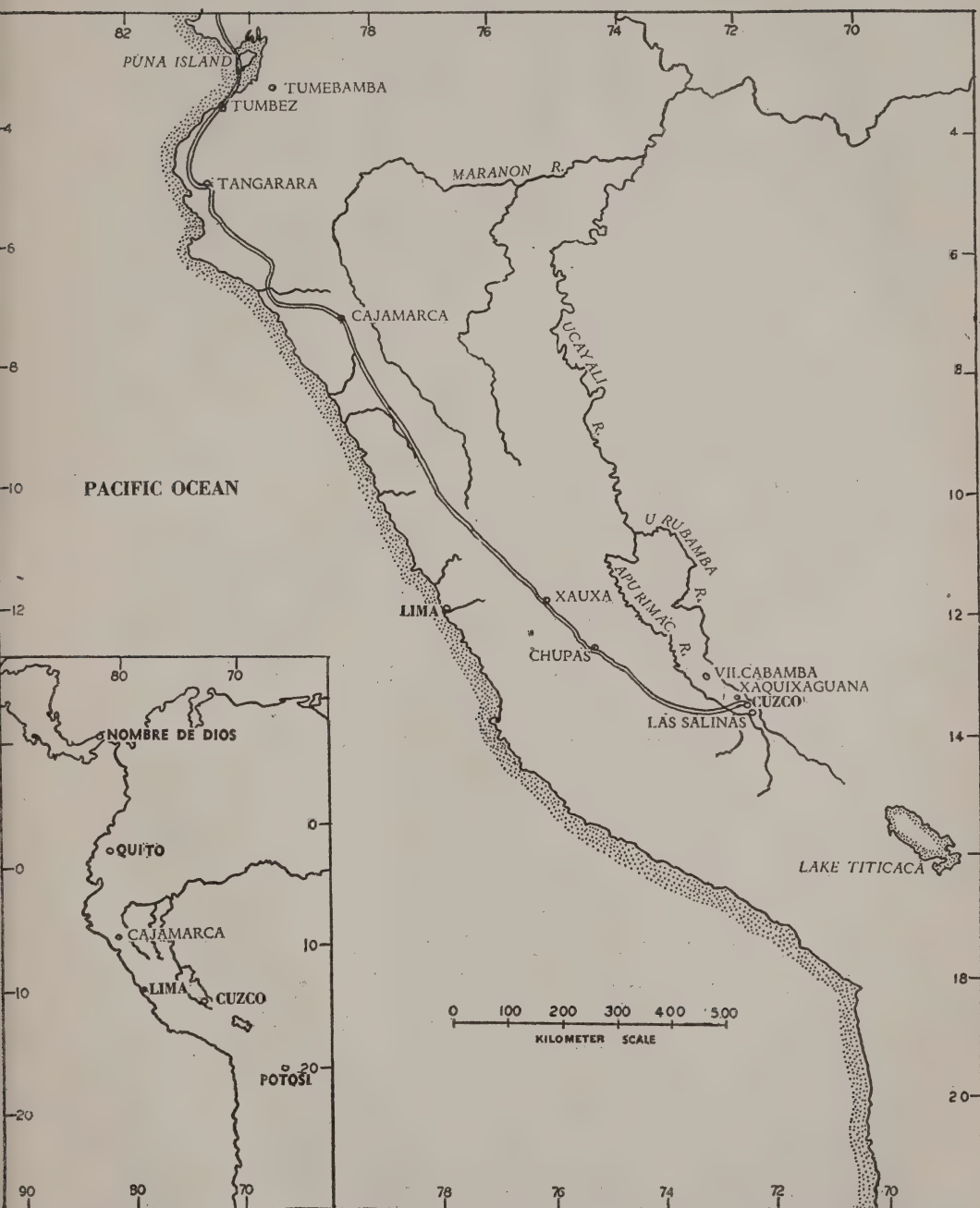
⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 112 ff.

⁶⁷Ballesteros, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, 147.

⁶⁸Pachacutec had been the great reformer of the Incas. For an account of his creation of communities among subject peoples, see Cabello Balboa, *Obras*, 328.

⁶⁹See the statement of the Marqués de Guadalcazar in Lorente (ed.), *Relaciones de los Vireyes y Audiencias*, II, 35.

turies of colonial administration. It was he who insisted upon the distinction that has been observed in the present study, the distinction between the ruling Inca class and the subordinate Incaic peoples. He depreciated the more familiar distinction, that of the Huascar and Atahualpa factions. His practical applications of the new distinction, like his historical data, were often preconceived and arbitrary. But he successfully implemented the legislation through which the Spanish colonial government finally replaced the Inca class. In his viceroyalty the transition to Spanish control became complete.



Map of Peruvian Coast showing chief sites mentioned. Insert of west coast of South America and Panama region. Pizarro's route indicated by double line.

Bibliography

The sources for the present study are chiefly the standard written materials dealing with the pre-conquest Inca state and with the historical events of the sixteenth century in Peru. No outstanding new sources have been introduced. The effort has been to interpret published texts emphasizing the continuity of historical periods. The materials for such a work are extensive and not uniformly distributed with regard to the topics and periods concerned. Bibliographical interpretation and synthesis constitute perhaps the greatest immediate requirement in Peruvian historiography, and the present brief discussion, treating the materials useful for the topics of the preceding chapters, may in no sense be regarded as a complete Peruvian bibliography. The discussion is followed by a list of those sources to which reference has been made.

The best accounts of sources for Inca history are to be found in Philip Ainsworth Means' "Biblioteca andina," Ruben Vargas Ugarte's *Historia del Peru Fuentes*, and Louis Baudin's *L'empire socialiste des Inkas*. Means includes a wealth of bibliographical and biographical information, expository discussion and critical interpretation. His study is invaluable as a work of authority and convenient reference. It is marred, however, by the overdrawn distinction between Garcilassan and Toledan schools, and by a series of critical judgments based upon this distinction. It necessarily lacks materials published in the last two decades and is confined to writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who dealt with pre-conquest society. Vargas Ugarte's bibliographical notes cover the entire field of Peruvian history. His work is less expository than Means' but contains a more extensive list of authorities and valuable indexes to collections of documents. Baudin's critical discussion forms a useful estimate of the materials, analyzed according to time periods and probable reliability. An important recent article criticizing the widely accepted views of Means and containing good bibliographical characterizations is John Howland Rowe's "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area." The bibliographical section of Rowe's "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest" is a brief but very just estimate of the leading sources for the Inca period.

These same writers are outstanding modern authorities for pre-conquest history. Rowe's work in the *Handbook of South American Indians* is unquestionably the soundest general study of Inca culture yet written. It is thoroughly documented and represents

a wide knowledge of literary and archaeological evidence. Means' *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* is a longer treatment and a standard general authority, notwithstanding certain defects of historical reconstruction and emphasis. A precise brief study of aspects of Inca culture more directly concerned with the topics of the present paper is Means' "A Study of Ancient Andean Social Institutions," containing valuable references to the literature of the *ayllu*. Baudin emphasizes the socio-political structure of the Inca state in his valuable and provocative *L'empire socialiste des Inkas*, and in a number of shorter articles, of which the most pertinent from the present point of view is "La formation de l'élite et l'enseignement de l'histoire dans l'empire des Inkas." Baudin's writings are particularly notable for their treatment of class-based sovereignty, interpreted from a legal point of view.

Standard secondary authorities of the nineteenth century are still very valuable for the Inca period. Though obviously outdated in many details, the introduction to Prescott's "History of the Conquest of Peru" is noteworthy for its just presentation and its careful use of available materials. The same may be said to a lesser degree of the standard English eighteenth-century work, Robertson's *History of America*. Sir Clements Markham's writings, at the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, are likewise worthy of careful attention. The leading authority of his time, Markham wrote and translated extensively, and in the footnotes and appendixes of his translations may be found much documentary information of the greatest interest. Markham prepared a summary treatment of Inca history and culture for the first volume of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, a work remarkable for its editor's bibliographical and critical notes.

Apart from Markham, Means, and Rowe, the secondary literature of the twentieth century has centered largely upon the vexed question of social forms in prehistoric Peru. Heinrich Cunow's *Geschichte und Kultur des Inkareiches* and Hermann Trimborn's "Der Kollektivismus der Inkas in Peru" represent outstanding contributions to this newer literature, to which the concept of socialism is fundamental. Other representative modern interpretations are Ricardo A. Latcham's "El dominio de la tierra y el sistema tributario en el antiguo imperio de los Incas," Luis Eduardo Valcárcel's *Historia de la cultura antigua del Perú*, and Bailey W. Diffie's *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period*. The modern period has yielded also a number of special studies of particular features of Inca culture, of which the following may be noted: the *quipu* studies of Locke and Nordenskiöld; Juan Larrea, "El yauri, insignia incaica"; Joseph Bram, *An Analysis*

of *Inca Militarism*; Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, *La religión del imperio de los Incas*. The modern period is notable likewise for the great expansion of archaeological interest in Peru, for which excellent summations and bibliographical data may be found in the various articles of the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Joyce's *South American Archaeology* is a classic early work in this field.

Primary sources for the pre-conquest period duplicate in large part those for the history of the Spanish regime in the sixteenth century. A common form of presentation by the early writers consisted of an historical and sociological description of the Inca state, followed by an account of the conquest, the civil wars, and the colonial government. Every early writer who concerned himself with pre-conquest history necessarily revealed certain details or points of view pertinent to colonial life. In the histories and compilations of Viceroy Toledo, for example ("Informacion de las idolatrias de los Incas"; "Informaciones acerca del señorío"), and in the works of the Toledan historians, pre- and post-conquest data are merged in a complex presentation that makes proper analysis difficult and problematic.

The most authoritative and extensive early works on the history and anthropology of the Inca civilization are those of Cobo, Cabello Balboa, Cieza de León, and Garcilasso de la Vega. Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* is an extraordinary seventeenth-century work treating in a full and clear manner the flora, fauna, geography, history, and customs of Peru. It was drawn partly from the author's own experiences and investigations and partly from material recorded by others. For its thoroughness and reliability it must be recognized as one of the greatest works ever written on an American subject. Cabello Balboa's "Miscelanea antartica" suffered until recently from a lack of accessibility. It exists in a poor translation of Ternaux-Compans and in the New York Public Library manuscript. It has recently appeared in a Quito edition of 1945. The works of Cieza de León are extensive and reliable, covering the geography and history of the pre-conquest period and including detailed accounts of the colonial wars. Cieza was a meticulous and honest sixteenth-century soldier-historian, and his writings constitute the earliest large-scale treatment of Peruvian history. Those of his works that survive exist in many editions and are familiar to English readers in the translations of Clements Markham. Like other translations by Markham the latter are free and not always accurate. Garcilasso is a less objective historian, and though favored by Markham and Means, is in general disrepute among modern critical historians. The assumption is too easily made, however, that because Garci-

lasso was himself an Inca descendant, his writings betray too extensive a prejudice and merit little serious consideration. His *Commentarios reales* are still essential sources for both pre- and post-conquest studies. They have been partly translated by Markham.

The earliest eyewitnesses to the conquest furnish the best data for an historical reconstruction of that event and often add detailed observations of Inca civilization as it was seen at the first European contact. The narrative of Francisco de Xérez has been published in many editions and translated into English by Markham. It contains a brief statement by another eyewitness, Miguel de Estete, whose "Relación de la conquista del Perú" is another extremely valuable first-hand report. Other informative accounts by participants in the conquest are the "Relacion de la conquista del Perú" of Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, available to the modern reader in several editions, and the anonymous *Conquest of Peru as Recorded by a Member of the Pizarro Expedition*, published in a notable facsimile edition and translated by Joseph H. Sinclair. Hermann Trimborn has recently published a valuable document of a very early observer under the title, "Unsere älteste ethnographische Quelle über das Inkareich." Pedro Pizarro's "Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú," published first in 1844, should be included among these eyewitness reports, although its composition was not completed until the time of Viceroy Toledo. Hernando Pizarro's letter of 1533, covering the same material as Xérez and Estete but in a briefer compass, has been published several times and translated by Markham. Cristóbal de Molina of Santiago, a participant in the latter part of the conquest, includes much information of native life in his "Relacion de la conquista y poblacion del Peru." Diego Fernández ("el Palentino") contemporaneously prepared his *Primera y segunda parte de la historia del Peru*, treating chiefly of the period of civil wars and incidentally of native institutions. All these writers are noteworthy for their early contact with native civilization. None of them, however, examines the history of the pre-conquest state with extreme thoroughness or care. As a group they are chiefly memorable for their accounts of conquest strategy and colonial affairs.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century numerous attempts were made to gather and record the mass of Inca legendary material and the data of pre-conquest society. Cieza de León and Juan de Betáncos are among the earliest of these investigators. Betáncos' *Suma y narracion de los Incas*, written about 1551, gains importance from the author's close contact with the sources of Inca lore. The edition of Jiménez de la Espada is excellent.

Contemporaneously Juan de San Pedro and others composed the "Relacion de la religion y ritos del Peru hecha por los primeros religiosos agustinos que alli pasaron para la conversion de los naturales," a most instructive Augustinian relation containing important information pertinent to Inca history and religion. Cristóbal de Castro and Diego de Ortega composed in 1558 the "Relacion y declaracion . . . de Chíncha," which, though brief, is one of the most informative and interesting documents of the sixteenth century. It presents material gathered in one of the coastal valleys away from the center of the empire and contains details of Inca administration that may be found nowhere else. Santillan's "Relacion del origen, descendencia, política y gobierno de los Incas" is one of the compilations of Inca tradition written in response to the questionnaires of Philip II. A collection of these responses has been edited by Jiménez de la Espada in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias Perú*, a rich and detailed body of data on many phases of pre-conquest life. In the 1560's a series of writings by Juan Polo de Ondegardo was composed, representing the results of official investigations in the period prior to Toledo. Polo is an important and generally trustworthy authority. The editions cited here are *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*, "Informe del Licenciado Juan Polo de Ondegardo al Licenciado Briviesca de Muñatones," "Of the Lineage of the Yncas, and how they Extended their Conquests," and "Relacion de los fundamentos." Polo continued his work into the Toledan period and is cited by Means as one of the more creditable of the Toledan historians. At about the same time, Juan Matienzo undertook a careful examination of pre-conquest institutions for the purpose of an improved Spanish administration. His work is published as *Gobierno del Perú*. The Toledan writings continued the tradition of official historiography. The chief contributor to this school was Sarmiento de Gamboa, whose *History of the Incas* has been translated by Markham. Sarmiento's work is valuable and detailed. It may be regarded as an official response to the criticisms of the school of Las Casas (*Coleccion de las obras; De las antiguas gentes del Perú*).

The post-Toledan period of the sixteenth century yielded the notable works of Román y Zamora, Molina of Cuzco, Cabello de Balboa, and José de Acosta. Jerónimo Román y Zamora, an Augustinian friar, was a follower of Las Casas and, like Las Casas, lacked first-hand knowledge of conditions in Peru. Subject to this criticism, his *Repúblicas de Indias* is an admirable summary of Inca history, emphasizing pre-conquest religious practices. Ceremonial and ritual practices receive full treatment similarly in "The Fables and Rites of the Yncas," of Molina of Cuzco, whose

years of experience in Peru equipped him with first-hand knowledge of his subject. The work has been translated by Markham. Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, written at the close of the sixteenth century, is one of the most famous works in the whole bibliography of America. It is a full treatment of the subject and an essential document for students of Peruvian civilization. A good modern treatment of the author is León Lope-tegui's *El padre José de Acosta S.I. y las misiones*. The valuable "Description del Reyno del Piru del sitio temple" of Balthasar Ramírez, written in 1597, is available in the excellent edition of Hermann Trimbom. The end of the sixteenth century is notable finally for the controversial figure of Blas Valera. Most of his writings are lost, but he remains important for his influence on later historians, such as Garcilasso, Montesinos, and Oliva. His "De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú" is an account of pre-conquest religion and society. It was published as an anonymous relation by Jiménez de la Espada.

To be noted in a class apart from the conventional colonial historians of Peru is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* has recently been published for the first time. Guaman Poma's work is receiving increasingly careful attention from modern students and merits a position at the top rank of colonial authorities. The text and illustrations afford detailed insight into Inca history and colonial social life. Guaman Poma illustrates the early reigns of the Incas and their *Coyas* and many of the outstanding events of Inca history. For details of colonial society he is a unique authority.

Nearly all the works already mentioned for their treatments of Inca history are pertinent likewise to the subjects of the colonial society and the Spanish administration. For the conquest itself, in addition to those mentioned, may be cited Ruiz Naharro's "Relacion de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú," a brief and detailed document seemingly drawn from the accounts of participants. The conquest likewise receives attention in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, of the early sixteenth-century Spanish historian, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. At the end of the century another famous historian, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, wrote his *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*. Neither of these historical works is entirely reliable, but they are sometimes helpful to the modern student for their use of sources not now available. For the history of the civil wars may be added the two works of Valverde ("Relacion del sitio del Cuzco" and "Carta del obispo del Cuzco"), *The Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman*, and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara's lengthy *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*.

For conditions of colonial society and administration also, the various collections of documents afford numerous details. The documentary incidence is so irregular, however, that specific reference is not possible in a brief bibliographical discussion. Such collections have proved particularly useful, for purposes of the present paper, in studying the administrative problems of the Toledan and pre-Toledan periods. Among them may be mentioned *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*; *Coleccion de documentos ineditos . . . Archivo de Indias*; and *Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru*.

The purposes of the present study have required a more extensive use of sixteenth-century materials than of those of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless certain later works have proved extremely valuable. The investigation of pre-conquest society proceeded in the seventeenth century with Anello Oliva, Fernando Montesinos, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua, and Martín de Morua. Montesinos' *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru* is a controversial work, chiefly because of its list of dubious pre-Inca rulers. His *Anales del Perú* is a yearly chronicle of Peruvian history from 1498 to 1642. Morua's "Historia de los Incas Reyes" and Santa Cruz Pachacuti's "Account of the Antiquities of Peru" are informative collections of Incaic historical data.

Social conditions of the colonial period are treated incidentally by many of the writers mentioned here in other connections and by the authors of many miscellaneous documents. Among the former may be mentioned in particular Garcilasso, Cieza de León, Polo de Ondegardo, and Guaman Poma. Lope de Atienza's *Compendio historial* contains a wealth of detail on the sixteenth-century daily life and customs of the Indian population of Peru. Colonial religious practices are treated in Arriaga's *La extirpacion de la idolatria en el Peru* and in Calancha's *Coronica moralizada*. Colonial political and social history similarly has been the subject of some excellent modern studies: Kubler's "The Quechua in the Colonial World"; Ella Dunbar Temple's "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac"; Means' *Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru*; Prado's *Estado social del Peru durante la dominación española*; and the several enumerated articles of Carlos A. Romero.

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Glossary

- amauta*: an official historian or recorder of the deeds of Inca rulers.
apo: one of the four rulers of the four imperial provinces.
ayllu: 1. a tribe or community; 2. a lineage, whether real or mythical, tracing descent from one of the Inca rulers.
borla: tassel, tuft (*Sp.*); one of the insignia of royalty in the Inca state.
chacaras: personal lands of the Inca.
chasqui: runner or messenger.
chunca camayoc: leader of a unit of ten. The lowest official of the hierarchy.
coya: the principal wife of the ruling Inca; in theory, the mother of the heir.
hatunruna: in Incaic society, the head of a family; in colonial Peru, an Indian subject to tribute.
huaca: an object of veneration or a holy area.
indi: the royal bird, an Inca insignie.
intip churi: "son of the sun"; an Inca title.
llautu: a head band or plait.
napa: the sacred white llama; a royal symbol.
orejones: in the Inca empire, the members of the upper class who were distinguished by elongation of the ear lobes; later the term was applied to Spaniards as a mark of respect.
pachaca: the group of one hundred individuals or social units.
quipu: a mnemonic, ceremonial, or statistical device of knotted strings.
quipu camayoc: an accountant or specialist in the use of the *quipu*.
sinchi: a war chief; the title applied to some of the early Inca rulers.
Situa: an autumnal ceremony of purification.
Sopa Inca: the ruling Inca.
tambo: a post station or "inn."
Tawantinsuyu (*Tawantisuyu*): "Land of Four Parts"; the original name of the Inca empire.
vilca camayoc: a specialist in local geography.
Viracocha: the creator diety whose name was adopted by one of the Inca rulers.
yanacona: in Incaic society, a hereditary extra-social class; in colonial Peru, a class of acculturated servants.
yauri: the imperial scepter used by the ruling Inca.

Chronology

- 1200 (?) Foundation of Cuzco.
- 1438 (?) End of reign of Viracocha.
- 1438 (?)–1471 (?) Reign of Pachacutec.
- 1471 (?)–1493 (?) Reign of Tupac Inca Yupanqui.
- 1493 (?)–1525 (?) Reign of Huayna Capac.
- 1525 (?) Accession of Huascar.
- 1530 Departure of Pizarro from Panama.
- 1531 Capture of Tumbez.
- 1532 Foundation of San Miguel. Capture of Atahualpa.
- 1533 Execution of Atahualpa. Entry of Pizarro into Cuzco.
- 1535 Foundation of Lima. Departure of Almagro for Chile.
- 1536 Revolt of Manco Inca.
- 1537 Return of Almagro from Chile. His seizure of Cuzco.
- 1538 Defeat of Almagro at the battle of Las Salinas.
- 1541 Murder of Pizarro.
- 1542 Defeat of the Almagro party at the battle of Chupas.
- 1544 Arrival of Blasco Núñez Vela. Revolt of Gonzalo Pizarro.
- 1545 Revocation of New Laws. Death of Manco Inca.
- 1546 Defeat of Blasco Núñez Vela at the battle of Anaquito.
- 1547 Arrival of La Gasca.
- 1548 Defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro at the battle of Xaquixaguana.
- 1549 Death of Paullo Inca.
- 1550 Return of La Gasca to Spain.
- 1551 Arrival of Antonio de Mendoza.
- 1553 Revolt of Francisco Hernández Girón.
- 1558 Entry of Sayri Tupac into Lima.
- 1560 Death of Sayri Tupac.
- 1569 Arrival of Francisco de Toledo.
- 1571 Death of Titu Cusi.
- 1572 Execution of Tupac Amaru I.

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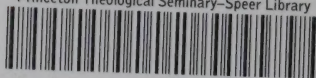
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